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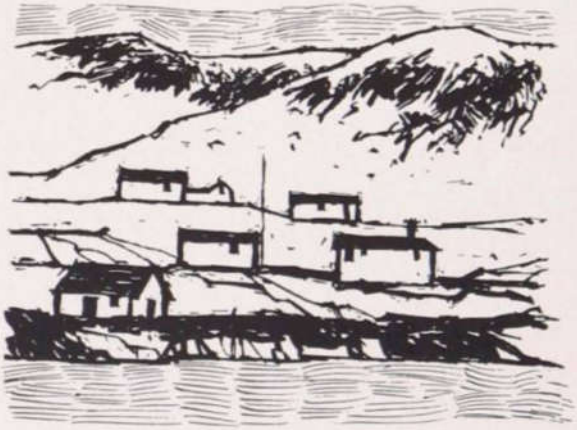

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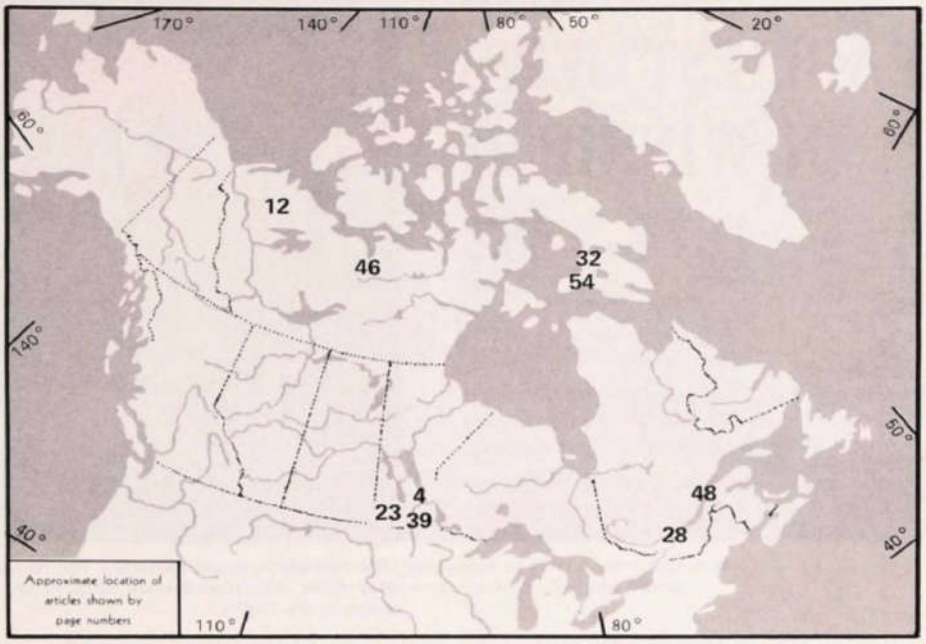
The Beaver

MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

Editor: Helen Burgess



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COVER: Widow of Chief Beargrease, Therese Codzi, threads a square needle with caribou sinew in the trapping tent of her two unmarried sons. An oil painting by Bern Will Brown of Colville Lake. From the NWT Government collection of art.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE
77 MAIN ST.

Hudson's Bay Company
INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

WINNIPEG, CANADA
R3C 2R1

Published by The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay, known as the Hudson's Bay Company. The interests of THE BEAVER cover the territory with which the Company has been or is now associated. Annual Subscription, $3; three years for $8; single copy $1. In United States and all other countries annual subscription $3.50; three years $9.50. While every care will be taken of manuscripts and illustrations submitted, no liability will be assumed for loss. Contents copyright. Printed in Canada.

Second class mail registration number 1401. Postage paid at Winnipeg.

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ISSN 0005-7517

THE EARLIEST JEWS IN WINNIPEG 1874-1882

BY A. J. ARNOLD

Mr Arnold is Program Director of the Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada. He has done extensive research and writing on the history of the Jews in Canada.

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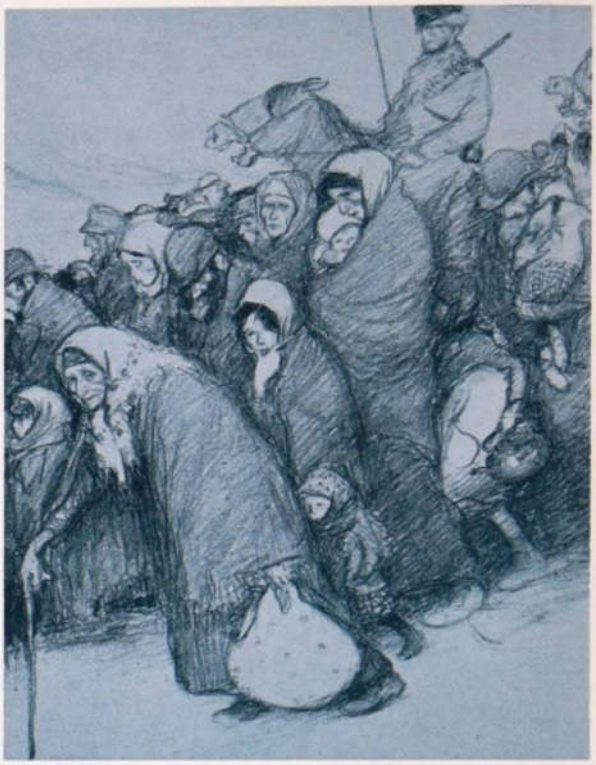


'The Homeless' – a drawing by the Russian-born Jewish artist Abel Pann depicting Russian soldiers driving Jews from their homes in the 1880s.

The Coblentz brothers, Edmond, Aachel Benvoir, and Adolphe came to Manitoba in 1877 and 1878 and were among the first Jewish residents of Winnipeg.

THE EARLIEST RECORDED ASSOCIATION of Jews with Winnipeg may be traced back to the Fort Garry days of the 1860s, when several pioneer Jewish residents of St Paul – merchants and fur dealers – began travelling down the Red River (or sent their representatives) to buy furs. Among them were Joseph Ullman and C.J. Kovitz. Beginning in 1874, several Jewish travellers began to visit Winnipeg in the spring of each year. The first Jewish residents in Winnipeg, according to Henderson's Manitoba Directory for 1877-78, were Reuben Goldstein, a pedlar, and Edmond Coblentz, a clerk. Coblentz was one of three brothers who came from Alsace-Lorraine, via the United States, and settled in Manitoba before 1880.

Between 1877 and 1881 the Jewish population of Winnipeg grew with the arrival of additional individuals and a few families. Most of them were part of the mid-19th century wave of immigrants from Central Europe to America. In 1881, the first census year in which a Jewish population was recorded, there were 33 Jews in Manitoba, including 21 in Winnipeg.* For Jews, as for other elements of the new population, Winnipeg became the centre from which they moved out to try their luck in pioneering, not only as pedlars and traders, but also as railway workers and homesteaders. At the same time Winnipeg quickly became the main centre in the West for Jewish communal endeavours.

Some of the Jews driven from their homes in 1881 took refuge in the arsenal at Kiev where they were visited by Russian friends.

In the spring of 1882 the Jewish population of Winnipeg and Manitoba increased more than tenfold in the space of a few weeks. The new-comers were all refugees from anti-Jewish *pogroms* and persecution in Russia who came west mainly because they had been promised 'free land' for homestead settlement. The Jews were part of the great immigration influx of 1882 which saw the population of the city grow by 5,000 by the end of the year.

Approximately 350 Russian Jewish refugees reached Winnipeg in late May and early June, while the city was recovering from its first major Red River flood, and just as it was beginning to slip from the heights of the railway land boom.

** In 'The Jews in Manitoba' (University of Toronto Press, 1961) Rabbi Arthur Chiel interpreted the 1881 census figure for the Jews as 33 families. He thereby asserted that the total Jewish population at the time was closer to 100. This conclusion may have been based on the fact that close to 30 individual Jewish names were apparently listed in the Manitoba directories for 1880-81-82. This would have meant however that each name represented an average family group of three or more. It is possible that the census and the directory overlooked a few people but it is highly unlikely that the Jewish population of those years included more than a very few family groups. Moreover there is no record of any Jewish child being born in the city before 1883. The 1881 census figure of 33 Jews including 21 in Winnipeg may therefore be taken as a very close approximation of the actual number of individuals in the pre-1882 Jewish population.*

The sequence of events which brought this first major influx of Jews to Winnipeg began in London early in February 1882. The Lord Mayor had called a meeting at the Mansion House to protest Russian persecution of the Jews and to help establish a committee to assist the refugees in finding new homes. Among the notables in attendance were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Manning, the Earl of Shaftesbury, several members of the Rothschild family and other Jewish leaders, and Sir Alexander Galt, Canada's first High Commissioner to Britain.

Galt suggested that some of the Jews might be sent to the Canadian Northwest to settle on the land. The High Commissioner had already informed Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald of his proposal to the Rothschilds to move some of the 'agricultural Jews' to Canada. Galt described the Russian Jews as 'a superior class of people, partly farmers, but generally trade people.' He waxed enthusiastic to the Prime Minister about the 'opportunity of interesting the Hebrews in our Northwest', pointing out that American interests were busy promoting Jewish emigration to the United States and 'what was good for them could not be bad for us.' He added that the Jews 'are now so influential in Europe, that there can be no harm in cultivating them.'

The idea of a Jewish farm settlement in the Northwest drew support from a number of quarters, including

John Taylor, agent for the Icelandic immigrants in Manitoba. Taylor wrote to the Marquess of Lorne, then Governor General, asking the same consideration for the Jews as had been granted earlier to the Icelanders. He urged provision of a block of land to provide new homes 'far removed from the cruelties and atrocities so shamefully perpetrated on this people in the name of religion.' Taylor's letter was sent on to Macdonald by Colonel I. de Winton, the Governor General's secretary, who added a note that if the English Jews were prepared to 'subscribe liberally' to settle their Russian brothers 'why shouldn't the Canadian government get the benefit of the transaction.'

Responding first to the report of his High Commissioner, Macdonald told Galt 'After years of ill-concealed hostility of the Rothschilds against Canada, you have made a great strike by taking up the old clo'cry and going in for a Jew immigration into the Northwest'. (It is believed that Macdonald's comment about the Rothschilds may have been due to the latter's refusal to assist with the financing of the Canadian Pacific Railway.)

CONFEDERATION ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM, CHARLOTTETOWN, P.E.I.

The Honourable Alexander T. Galt, by an unknown artist.

Tevel Finkelstein, a Russian Jewish immigrant who settled in Winnipeg in 1882.

Replying to the Governor General, the Prime Minister sent him a copy of one of Galt's notes 'by which you will see he has been attending to the Jews.' Macdonald declared 'I hope something will come of this. He [Galt] will be instructed to act for the Immigration Department, and we are quite ready to assign the Jews lands.'

The plan to send some of the Russian Jews to Canada, and particularly to the Northwest, was a significant development, not only for the growth of the Jewish population of Winnipeg. It also marked an important new stage for the Jewish communities of Montreal and Toronto at a time when the total number of Jews in Canada was under 2,500. The Anglo-Jewish Association in London was the major organization in the mother country concerned with assisting Jewish emigration. After the Russian *pogroms* began in 1881, branches of the Anglo-Jewish Association were formed in Montreal and Toronto. These groups looked to the parent body in London for leadership and assistance with the new-comers who were destined for Canada. Montreal also had a Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society which now became more active and the immigrant flow of 1882 generally marked the beginning of a permanent organized immigrant aid program among the Jewish population of Canada.

In spite of the best efforts put forward by the London, Montreal, and Toronto supporters of the Jewish settlement plan for Manitoba, the people of Winnipeg found themselves confronted with a difficult problem when the new-comers arrived. Alexander Galt had urged that several people should be sent to the Northwest in advance to make arrangements for the arrival of the immigrants and to find a suitable settlement site. It was

also reported that a representative of the Montreal community had discussed the land settlement project with John Henry Pope, Minister of Agriculture in Ottawa, who had promised to 'assist it with all his aid'. Galt's suggestion to send out an advance party was not carried out and, of even greater concern, the promises of Macdonald and Pope to assign land and provide help remained unfulfilled.

By 1 June 1882 more than 300 Jewish refugees were installed in the old immigration sheds at the mouth of the Assiniboine River. Earlier Jewish residents set up an immigrant aid committee headed by Victor Victorson, Philip Brown, and Lewis Wertheim and $360 was raised for immediate assistance. Some of the men found temporary work hauling lumber while some women took domestic jobs. By mid-June 150 men were with the Canadian Pacific Railway laying track across the prairies.

The Winnipeg City Council discussed the problem of the new-comers and promised help and church leaders also urged assistance. The *Manitoba Free Press* charged, however, that 'land-grabbers' were not prepared to give any advantage to the immigrants and that 'misrepresentation' had been made to them on the promise of land and the means to work it.

Government immigration agents were not friendly, however. C.H.R. Warnock wrote Ottawa that the Russian Jews included 'a dozen or more who are utterly useless . . . some are blind, some too old . . . while others are actually too lazy.' About those who were working Warnock said it was 'a great drawback . . . that they do not speak the English language and . . . they will not work on Saturdays, it being their Sunday . . . the immigration of these people is [not] a success and I would certainly advocate it being stopped.' These comments were recorded less than a month after the immigrants had arrived.

The *Manitoba Free Press* was more optimistic about the Jewish settlers. Decrying the government's lack of assistance, an editorial declared that 'the 350 people who are here will no doubt acquire the English language and . . . gradually save up enough money to . . . live comfortably in homes of their own. So far as they are . . . concerned the present difficulties will soon be overcome but the country will be a loser for all time . . . through the absence of any system for locating this class of people upon farm lands.'

Two more attempts were made to obtain land for the Jews that summer but without success. Victor Victorson travelled west with several of the new-comers to look for a suitable site but came back empty-handed. In Toronto the Anglo-Jewish Association sent a special representative to Ottawa to see whether the authorities might be persuaded to release some of the land in Manitoba being held for other purposes.

During the first period of the government's homestead policy in the 1870s tracts of land had been set aside for Mennonites and Icelanders as well as Scottish and French settlers. By 1880 the government decided that the policy of assigning land for special groups was not bringing settlers quickly enough. While the lands previously assigned were still held in reserve all further available land in Manitoba was turned over to private companies who assumed responsibility for bringing in settlers. These were probably some of the 'land-grabbers' referred to by the *Free Press*.

L.M.O. Gontlee, the solicitor sent to Ottawa, soon reported back to E. Samuels, secretary of the Toronto Jewish Association that 'unless very great influence is brought to bear promptly nothing could be achieved.' It was decided to ask Sir Alexander Galt to use his influence with Macdonald. Galt submitted the view of the Jewish committee to the Prime Minister and urged the 'great importance' of trying to meet their request. He suggested the release of some 'spare Mennonite townships' or some of the colonization company land. 'It seems absurd' he said 'to have the whole district

Mr and Mrs Simon Lechtzier and their sons were among the Jews who arrived from Russia in 1882. They are seen here in the late 1890s with their son Phillip and his wife and three children. Mr and Mrs Phillip Lechtzier were the first couple married in the original Shaarey Zedek synagogue after it opened in 1890.

A Torah Scroll, the Five Books of Moses, symbolic of the scroll bought by the immigrants of 1882 for Jewish New Year services celebrated in September of that year.

Two examples of the Shofar, the Ram's Horn, bought by the immigrants for the Holy Day services to sound the traditional call to repentance.

covered with bogus applications [in many cases] to the exclusion of bona fide settlers.' A few weeks later Galt reminded Macdonald 'Do not forget my Jews.' But in the matter of land the Jews were forgotten for two years.

How did the immigrants themselves react to the unexpected circumstances in which they found themselves in Winnipeg? One of the new-comers, S.F. Rodin, wrote a letter home to the Russian-Jewish publication *Hamelitz*, immediately after their arrival, and it was published at the end of July:

'I don't know where to dip my pen as I write these words – shall it be in the inkwell before me or in the abhorrent tears which stream from the cheeks of the people who came here with me . . . Their words and groans tear my heart and pierce my inner parts to the very depths when they speak as follows: 'Look how we were deceived by the people whom we trusted and who seemed to be concerned with our welfare. They have sent us to a desolate place to become servants and maids . . . Why did they deceive us and smoothly say to us: Arise and journey to Winnipeg for the Committee will give each one who goes there a portion of a field, an orchard and vineyard. Houses will be built for you and you will be provided with ploughshares and all the other supplies needed to live as farmers. The land will provide you with all your needs and you will be among the happiest people in the world'.

In this first reaction Rodin added that no one 'has welcomed us or opened their doors to us . . . Like sheep without a shepherd we have sought a refuge to find some relief for our bones and to refresh ourselves from the terrible journey of the past six weeks. Every one of our bodies are bruised from top to bottom. Our limbs are still shaken from the terror of the cross of the sea.'

(En route to Winnipeg, the Jews had crossed Lake Superior on the S.S. *Ontario*, the same vessel which had transported the Icelanders eight years earlier.)

In his first letter Rodin also expressed concern about the high cost of food, the poor shelter in tents, and the dread of the oncoming winter weather with seven months 'far below freezing'. There was no kosher food and they did not know how they could observe the Sabbath and Holy Days. It seemed to him then that there was no other way out but to leave Winnipeg.

Three months later in a second letter to *Hamelitz*, Rodin had modified his view considerably. Referring to his first letter he stated:

'Perhaps I exaggerated somewhat, but truly, our living conditions during the first few months . . . were unendurable. Thank God, the situation has improved . . . We have gradually accustomed ourselves to the hard work . . . even the cultivated and well-bred among us have had to discard our starched shirts and shined shoes and have gotten down to work.'

Rodin now spoke of the need to develop a Jewish school system for the children, a sure sign that they were beginning to think of permanent settlement in Winnipeg. He also reported how they celebrated the Jewish New Year that September in a tent at a railway station forty miles from Winnipeg. They managed to raise $100 among themselves to order a *Torah* Scroll (the Five Books of Moses) and a *Shofar* (ram's horn) from New York, for the Holy Day services. 'The local residents' Rodin added 'looked on with wonder and admiration, commenting: 'Look! though far removed from their homes and their people they nevertheless make every effort to worship in the manner known to them.'

The arrival of the Russian immigrants did in fact mark the beginning of organized Jewish religious life in Winnipeg. Yom Kippur services (Day of Atonement)

were first held in a private home in the city as early as 1879, but it was only after the Russian Jews came that regular Sabbath services began.

In the pages of Winnipeg's daily newspapers of that era the Jews became a subject of controversy. Dealing with the first Sabbath service conducted by the immigrants, the *Winnipeg Daily Times* reported that it was 'presided over by one of the old Jewish rabbits.' This gave the *Manitoba Free Press* the opportunity to accuse its competitor of a 'base calumny' pointing out that the Jews 'are not in possession of any rabbits' and suggesting that the *Times* should learn the difference between a 'rabbit' and a 'rabbi'.

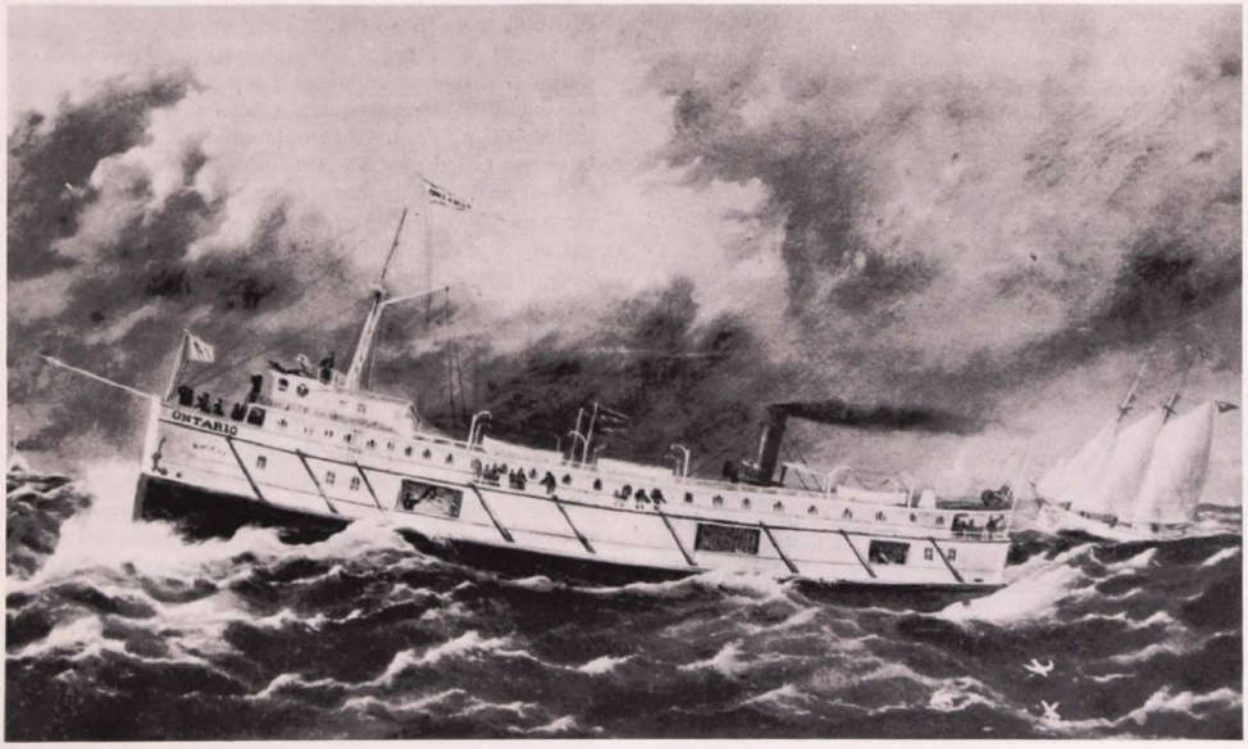
Later in the summer the matter became more serious when the *Times* demanded that the Russian Jewish immigrants be sent back to where they had come from and accused them of being unclean and shiftless. The *Free Press* again came to the defense of the immigrants, reporting that the established Jewish residents who were assisting the new-comers did not consider them too burdensome. Recalling that most of the men were working on the Canadian Pacific Railway the *Free Press* said they were 'apparently doing as well as they can, earning fair wages, and, it is thought giving tolerable satisfaction; as if this were not the case, they would no doubt be discharged. Only some 25 remain in the city at present and these are working from day to day, when they can find anything to do.'

The Jewish immigrants were very concerned about earning a living and most of them took whatever work was available – as carpenters, tinsmiths, gardeners, and brick-yard workers. In July, some of them found jobs as rail-splitters at Whitemouth, Manitoba. Unfortunately the night they arrived at Whitemouth, the Jews were attacked and robbed by a band of workmen. Some of them returned to the city in despair but a few stuck it out on the job. The *Free Press* commented that it was 'shameful' that the new-comers 'should meet treatment so much like that from which they have fled.'

A few weeks later there was a similar incident among the railway workers at Rosser Station, when Charles Wicks attacked Kiva Barsky with an iron bar. Determined to test Manitoba justice, Barsky laid a charge against his assailant who was brought to trial before Chief Justice Edmund Burke Wood. Convicted of assault, Wicks was sentenced to one month in prison. The Chief Justice deplored the attempt to start a Russian-style attack and declared 'The senseless persecution of that people makes us blush for our common Christianity.'

To place this first large Jewish immigrant influx in proper perspective it should be realized that only in the area of immigration did 1882 really turn out to be a boom year for Winnipeg. According to the annual report of the immigration agent at Emerson, 69,332 immigrants entered Manitoba during 1882, including 393 Russian Jews. The Winnipeg agent reported that 44,500 immi-

The S.S. 'Ontario', the ship on which the Russian Jewish refugees crossed Lake Superior from Sarnia to Duluth.



MANITOBA ARCHIVES

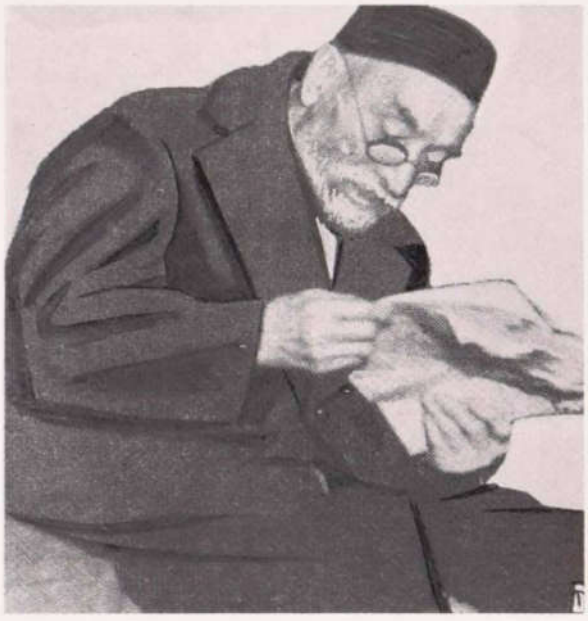
grants arrived in Winnipeg during the year and close to 6,000 of these, including 353 Russians, were housed at the immigration sheds. Presumably the Russians were all Jews.

Immigration Agent William Hespeler regarded the Jews as a special problem, considering them unsuited for labour. In July, while Alexander Galt was appealing to Macdonald 'Do not forget my Jews' Hespeler wrote Ottawa calling the Jewish immigration 'a mistaken move', claiming they would not become agriculturists, were 'inferior' labourers and were simply 'a trading class' at which they could not make a living 'having no means, nor knowledge of the English language.' He was even concerned that the majority who were working on the railway would return and be 'on the hands of the government' and suggested that some of them be removed to a 'more congenial part of the Dominion' before winter.

Hespeler conceded in the same report however that there would be a similar problem with 'a certain class of English immigrants . . . without experience of any kind' who had been enticed by the idea of 160 acres of free land. He warned that the government might also have to provide winter help for another 'desirable class of immigrants' who came with what should have been sufficient means but were affected by the 1882-style inflation.

Most of the Jews who settled in Winnipeg before 1882 were established in business or trade occupations. Philip Brown and A.B. Coblentz were merchant tailors, George Frankfurter was selling dry goods, William Harris was a bookkeeper, the Ripstein brothers were in the grocery business, Louis Wertheim had a cigar store,

It is believed that Elias Tapper reached Winnipeg by riverboat before the first railway link with the city was opened.



Victor Victorson was a real estate agent, and Elias Tapper was a tailor. Others were listed as pedlars, traders, and storekeepers.

These people formed the Jewish committee which contributed to the support of those new-comers requiring help. In addition to providing quarters in the immigration sheds, nominal government assistance was available to the extent of $5.00 per adult. This subsidy was paid to the Jewish committee upon the submission of statements of eligible expenditures which from the end of May to mid-September came to a total of $495.56.

According to Hespeler the number of adults eligible for this subsidy was 275, making the total amount available $1,375. On September 11, Hespeler again urged that a number of the Jewish immigrants be sent elsewhere before winter and he recommended applying the balance of the government subsidy of $879.44 'towards their transport out of the province'.

Whether this recommendation was actually carried out is not definitely known although some of the new-comers probably returned east or crossed over the border to the United States. Others managed to find occupations and housing and began to leave the immigration sheds. There were some however who could, or would, not leave the federal immigration sheds in spite of the sorry state of these quarters. Those who remained there were the subject of negative reports to Ottawa and came to be regarded as a public nuisance.

During the winter of 1883 many of the immigrants did find themselves in dire straights. Early in January a *Free Press* report carried the headline 'Hebrew Refugees Perishing from Hunger and Cold'. An editorial urging the people of Winnipeg to help brought a favourable response. A general relief committee with Jewish and non-Jewish representatives was organized at a meeting at the Y.M.C.A. Philip Brown announced that the local Jews had raised over $1,200 among themselves of which $1,180 had already been spent, mostly on food and medicine and for fares for immigrants going to centres out of the city for jobs. A number of benefit functions were arranged and various other steps were taken to alleviate the situation.

The Dominion government came in for renewed criticism in the press and was charged with neglecting these people who had been sent out with government consent. Regardless of conflicting views about the ability of the Jews to become farmers they had come west because of the promise of land settlement opportunities. Even with the influence of a man of Sir Alexander Galt's stature, it took two years, until the spring of 1884, before the government found it possible to assign a tract of land for the first attempted Jewish land settlement. The site selected was near Moosomin beyond the Manitoba border and more than 200 miles from Winnipeg.

It is certainly not surprising that during those two years most of the Jewish new-comers who remained in

In the Montreal Block at the corner of Main and Logan several pre-1882 Jewish residents were in business in 1883. They included George Frankfurter who operated 'The Fair'.

Winnipeg found other occupations. In fact within a year some of them were settled enough to be listed in Henderson's Directory for 1883. Compared with those who arrived before 1882, the occupations of the Jews now became more varied. L. Asher was an upholsterer; Harris Cohen, a capmaker; S.J. Cohen, a watchmaker; M. Goldstein, an expressman; E. Israel, a bricklayer; C. Levin, a labourer; Wm Levitt and Isaac Miller were carpenters; and T. Finkelstein was a grocer. There were also several more listed as pedlars, clerks, and tailors, in addition to storekeepers. Thus when Galt was finally advised about the Moosomin land grant at the end of April 1884, only 28 of the original immigrant group were still prepared to take up the homestead opportunity. There is no doubt that the establishment of a permanent Jewish community in Winnipeg was largely due at the outset to the unforseen delay in the land settlement opportunity. The promise of 'free land' was one of the main attractions which brought more Jews to Winnipeg and the West over the next three decades.

During the 1880s, the 1890s and into the 1900s many Jews did prove themselves as farmers and several Jewish farm settlements carried on for 30, 40 and 50 or more years, particularly in Saskatchewan.

Since 1891 at least, Winnipeg has been the third largest Jewish population centre in Canada and two-thirds of the Jews on the prairies have always resided in the Manitoba capital. In Winnipeg the first Jewish synagogue was listed in Henderson's Directory in 1885 at 65 King Street, although the first synagogue to be built was not erected until 1889. From that time on Jewish institutions and educational, cultural, and religious life have flourished. It is a truism to say that Jews have made a unique contribution to the general development of the city of Winnipeg. That contribution stems from the fact that the Jews who were disappointed in land settlement, for whatever reason, were quick to prove that other opportunities, in a variety of occupations, trades, and entreprenurial enterprises, existed or could be created.

The history of the Jews of Winnipeg cannot, in the final analysis, be limited to those who remained in the city itself. It is a history of going out to the country, whether in Manitoba or other parts of the West, to try homesteading, to become pedlars and storekeepers and to seek other pursuits. And it is a history of returning to the city, sometimes because of opportunities that failed, and on other occasions because they succeeded so well that they could return to seek the comforts and amenities of a city life. Not the least of these amenities was the possibility of better educational opportunities for the children and closer ties with Jewish religious, communal, and cultural institutions. ◆

Hare-skin shirts and parkas, once a traditional garment with the Hare Indians, are rarely seen today; one is worn here by a young boy at Colville Lake.

THE HARE INDIANS

BY BERN WILL BROWN

Photographer, artist and author, Mr Brown has lived in the Arctic since 1948. In 1964 he built a log church for the Hare Indians at Colville Lake. With his wife, Margaret, he now operates a fishing lodge there.

IN AN AREA that straddles the Arctic Circle east of the Mackenzie River live about one thousand Hareskin – or Hare-Indians. They are distributed among the settlements of Fort Franklin, Fort Norman, Fort Good Hope, and Colville Lake. A generation ago when the people were still dependent upon the land for their living, they occupied a territory that extended from the Yukon Mountains on the west to the eastern edge of Great Bear Lake and from the Blackwater River on the south to the Anderson River above the Arctic Circle.

Gradually during the past twenty-five years the Hare Indians have ceased hunting and trapping this vast territory. Ninety per cent now venture less than twenty-five miles from their homes. But in Colville Lake, the most isolated of the settlements, trappers still continue their life on the land. Here the population numbers 80, and their average age is 55 years. The youth have moved away from life in the bush, mainly into Fort Good Hope.

The Hareskins have, from earliest times, been known as a timid people. Alexander Mackenzie, on his journey down the river that now bears his name, observed on 8 July 1789 'several smokes beneath a hill, on the North shore, and on our approach we perceived the natives climbing the ascent to gain the woods.' Several of these people, who returned to their fires when they were assured of 'our friendly intentions' were 'clad in hare-

George Codzi hauls fish from the stream connecting Colville and Aubrey Lakes.

skins. We were . . . informed that they were . . . called the Hare Indians, as hares and fish are their principal support, from the scarcity of rein-deer and beaver.'

A description of their hare-skin shirts was recorded by Sir John Richardson in his account of the arctic search for Franklin published in 1852. He noted that the skin of the hare, 'being too tender to be used in the ordinary way, is torn into narrow strips, which are then twisted slightly, and plaited or worked into the required shape . . . no process among the northern Indians . . . approaches so nearly to weaving as the manufacture of these white hare-skin shirts. Such is the closeness and fineness of the fur, that they are exceedingly warm, notwithstanding the looseness of their texture.'

The Hare Indians referred to themselves simply as Dene, meaning men or people, as the Eskimos called themselves the Inuit. The modern Hare Indians do not like their English name and often refer to themselves, when speaking English, as Slaveys, the name of the tribe upriver from them.

Although the snowshoe rabbits provided the people with their clothing, it was the caribou that most influenced their traditional way of life. With the exception of those members of the tribe living west of the Mackenzie River, the people followed the yearly migration of the Barren-land caribou. In winter the animals sought the shelter of the black spruce forests and moved southwest off the Barrens and deep into the Hareskin territory.

In early spring the animals retraced their route and returned to the Barrens for calving, with Indians in pursuit to the edge of the Barrens. But even in the mosquito-ridden heat of July some fat bulls could be found along the shores of Horton, Stopover, and Estabrook Lakes and the Anderson River. Century-old tipi poles still testify to the former presence of the Hareskins in these areas, as do the place names in their vocabulary.

Throughout the greater part of the year the Hare Indians depended on fish – trout, whitefish, and herring – which still can be found in ninety per cent of the lakes and streams. Their traditional gill net was woven of the inner bark of the arctic willow and was extremely fragile if wet when the temperatures were below zero. Consequently it was kept in the water when visited in winter and rarely exceeded three fathoms in length. Using such nets, the people often starved to death around Colville Lake which abounds in trout. One of the greatest aids to survival brought by the traders was linen and cotton thread from which long durable nets could be woven.

In the winter months the diet of the Indians was supplemented by hares, and seasons when hares were scarce – every seven to ten years – they suffered great hardships. The words 'starvation' and 'cannibalism' appear with chilling regularity in early accounts left by

Christine and George Codzi in their hunting tent. Mr Codzi is manager of the Colville Lake 'Kapami-Co-op' store.

Behind this child is a wool-embroidered dog blanket, now used as a decorative wall hanging in the fishing lodge.

Kneeling on spruce boughs, a Hareskin woman uses her hand-operated sewing machine.

Philip Codzi in a typical Colville Lake hunting canoe – canvas stretched over a wood frame and sealed with candle grease.

Black spruce is still gathered and burned in Colville Lake cabins. In larger settlements, houses are heated by oil.

(Left) An overnight camp on the trail north of Colville Lake.

explorers and traders up until 1859. The people had only one thought uppermost in their minds and that was survival. All tales of theft and cruelty, of murder and cannibalism were by-products of that basic will to stay alive.

Life was particularly difficult for the women who were, to quote Sir John Richardson 'certainly at the bottom of the scale of humanity in North America . . . In early infancy the boy discovered that he may show any amount of arrogance toward his sisters, who, as soon as they can walk, are harnessed to a sledge while the future hunter struts in his tiny snow-shoes after the men'. Father Emile Petitot who arrived in the Mackenzie District in 1862 and lived among the Hare and Loucheux Indians for many years, noted that to be born a girl in the Hareskin tribe was the worst of calamities. The low status of the women can be imagined when one considers that their word for daughter and dog were the same – and still are.

Dr Richardson asked the Hare Indians about their religious beliefs and found that 'the majority of the nation recognize a 'Great Spirit' at least by name, but some doubted his existence, assigning, as a reason for their atheism, their miserable condition; or they say, 'If there be such a being, he dwells on the lands of the white people, where so many useful and valuable articles are produced'. Still they believed that the Great Spirit was a benign God who would not harm them. But there were other supernatural beings that had to be constantly placated.

'Their dread of these disembodied beings, of whom they spoke to us under the general name of 'enemies' is such, that few of the hunters will sleep out alone. They never make any offerings to the Great Spirit, or pay him an act of adoration; but they deprecate the wrath of an evil being by prayer, and the sacrifice of some article.' Many taboos grew up and flourished – most of which applied only to women. The penalty for breaking such taboos was, in most cases, the shortening of the life span.

In the mid-nineteenth century the first missionaries reached the Hare Indians. Father Grollier of the Order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate held the first mass at Good Hope on 2 September 1859, and built the first mission on the Hare Indian River. He was followed by Fathers Petitot, Dequin, Houssais, and Giroux and Brothers Kearney and Ansel. The missionaries taught that religious energy should be shifted from the evil spirits to the Good God, that women had immortal souls, that it was wrong to abandon female infants and that, in justice, the God who created them would have to reward or punish them according to the way they lived out their lives on earth. The Hareskins embraced the new religion and were baptized.

It was not until 1921 that the Hare Indians signed Treaty No. 11, which ceded to the Crown all Hareskin lands with the exception of reserves for each band 'the same not to exceed in all one square mile for each family of five'. The people retained their rights to hunt, trap, and fish on the land and received an annual payment of ammunition, nets, and cash. The treaty had little effect upon their way of life.

Helen and Rolly Codzi enjoy eggs from a whitefish.

The introduction of day schools, however, in Fort Good Hope, Fort Franklin, and Fort Norman in the early 1950s had a very real and profound effect. Once the children began to attend school their mothers were needed in the settlements to care for them and could no longer accompany their husbands on the trap lines. This reduced the man's efficiency by half. In addition to making the daily round of his trapline, he now had to skin and stretch his furs, haul wood and water for his tent, cook and sew, visit the fish nets, feed the dogs and sleep alone. Very soon the father was lingering longer in the settlement, setting his traps closer to town and returning sooner and more often to visit his family. His fur returns reflected the change.

During the next twenty years the number of children in school rose from less than 10 per cent to over 90 per cent, while, in inverse ratio, the number of adults living off the land dropped from 90 per cent to less than ten per cent. But the Hareskins of Colville Lake continued to live by hunting and trapping, for they were too few to have a school of their own.

The majority of Hareskins now live in the larger settlements in low-rent permanent housing. They have not, as yet, developed any viable cottage industries and employment revolves mainly around village life. Some have sought and found employment outside their native areas, but most have returned to their settlements to work part time. It is not surprising that the Hareskins

Colville Lake hunters own about 150 sled dogs. Here, five teams set out on a caribou hunt.

Mrs Marie Kochon with her child. Candles are placed on sharpened sticks for stability.

Alphonse Codzi stretches a marten skin; a prayer book 'en langue: Peau de lievre' is beside him.

find it difficult to adapt to wage employment. They were raised by parents who may never have owned a watch – by parents who saw in their children the guardians of their old age and were reluctant to impose any kind of discipline that would be remembered with possible retaliation.

During the last five years the Hareskins have seen a steady convoy of oil exploration equipment pass by en route to their former hunting and trapping grounds. It is only natural that they should suddenly speak of the land they have abandoned with lumps in their throats. They may never use it again. They may never even see it again. But now they feel that their forefathers have sold too cheaply. The result has been a rising clamour to void Treaty No. 11 and to re-negotiate it. Towards this end the Department of Indian Affairs has provided grants enabling the Indians to hire their own lawyers.

As with other northern tribes, the story of the Hareskins traces their transition from a band of nomadic hunters to that of illiterate trappers and finally to the present generation of literate inhabitants of permanent settlements. No matter how high the price of wild fur rises, few of the people settled in towns will ever abandon their present way of life to return to the bush. Only in the remote community of Colville Lake does life on the land continue much as it did in earlier years. ◆

Marten, easy to trap and worth an average of $14.00 each last winter are sold under the label of Canadian sable.

THE PERPETUAL GOVERNOR

BY E. E. RICH

Professor Rich, recently retired Master of St Catherine's College, Cambridge, was general editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society for twenty-one years and is the author of, among other books on the fur trade, 'The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870'.

DURING ITS LONG HISTORY the Hudson's Bay Company has only had three Governors who have held office for more than twenty years – Donald Smith for twenty-five years, John H. Pelly for thirty years, and Bibye Lake, the 'Perpetual Governor', for thirty-one. All were remarkable men; all dominated a period of revision and reconstruction. Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, who saw the development of the Company's retail stores and land department, was remarkable in that he had come from the ranks of the fur traders, an experienced veteran of sixty-nine when he came to the Governorship in 1889. He held office till his death in 1914 at the age of ninety-four, and although his ability and his experience account for his election to the Governorship his lengthy tenure is largely due to his longevity. Without such a durable physique, the other two long-term Governors had an advantage in that they achieved office earlier in life, as much through personal connections as through mastery of the Company's business.

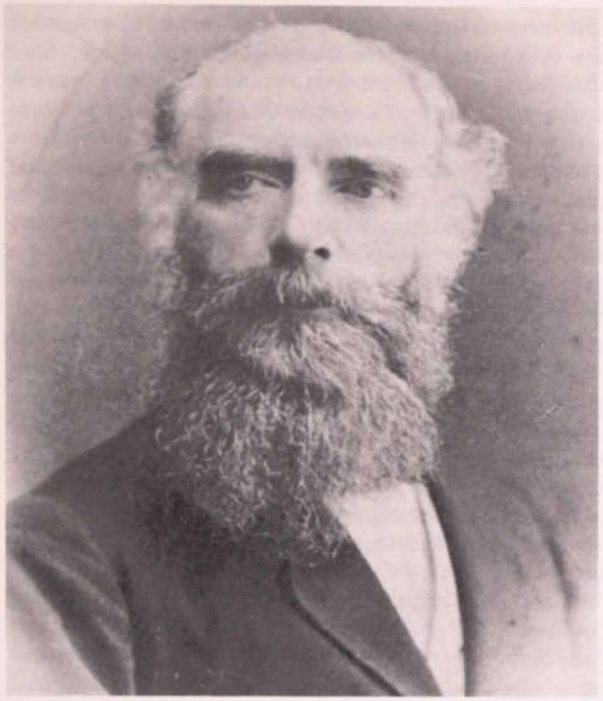
But neither Pelly nor Lake was unduly young by the standards of his age when he came to office; nor were they inexperienced in business, or indeed in the business of the Company. John Henry Pelly, who worked so effectively with George Simpson in exploiting the opportunities presented by the coalition with the North West Company and the renewed grant of Exclusive Trade, was at the time of his election in 1822 a man of forty-five. He had behind him experience of the East India trade as a ship's officer, sixteen years' service as a Committee member of the Hudson's Bay Company and ten years as Deputy-Governor. He knew the inside story of the struggle against the North West Company in war conditions, he was to become Governor of the Bank of England, and his knowledge both of the Company's affairs and of the wider worlds of the City, of Parliament, and of the Empire, enabled him to lead the Company through a period of unprecedented power and prosperity until he died in 1852, at the age of seventy-five.

As against these two Governors, both of durable physique, Sir Bibye Lake, the 'Perpetual Governor' with the record tenure of thirty-one years, died in 1743 at the age of fifty-nine. But he achieved office early in life. The date of his birth is not known; he was baptized in 1684 and would have been about twenty-five when he acquired his first £100 of stock in the Company in 1709. At that time the Company was in low water; no dividend had been declared since 1691, efforts to secure a vindication of the Charter from Parliament had failed in 1697-98 and furs lay in the warehouses unsold. Under war conditions the London fur market was stagnant, the European market experimental, difficult and unremunerative. Of the posts in the Bay, Albany alone remained in British hands, and money for trade and for other expenses was so short that although £100 was borrowed to buy off criticism from Radisson, the Company could not raise the extra £40 needed to meet his claims in full and to silence him. The Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, had been a great disappointment to the Company, who declared themselves 'the only sufferers by the Peace', and the War of the Spanish Succession had proved disastrous in Rupert's Land despite Marlborough's victories in Europe.

Bibye Lake was no stranger to the Company's affairs when he first bought his stock. He bought from his father, Thomas Lake; and, even after he had sold £1,000 worth to Bibye, Thomas Lake was quite the largest holder of stock, for he had been buying steadily through the slump years since 1697. Thomas Lake had been elected to the Committee, he played an active part in the day-to-day administration of the Company's trade, and as he began to bring his son into the business he was himself elected Deputy-Governor, in 1710.

The purpose of bringing Bibye into the Company soon became clear. He had not yet inherited his baronetcy from a great-uncle and was a plain Esquire, but he was undoubtedly a likely young man. Educated at the Middle Temple at a time when a legal training of some sort was considered a better equipment for a career than the archaic and unworldly education available in a university, he was already a competent and recognized City financier, with special interests in overseas trade, a considerable holder of stocks in the East India Company and in the Africa Company (of which he subsequently became Sub-Governor). He had, in addition, inherited from his grandfather, Thomas Lake of Boston, a tract of land along the borders between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. He was putting out money to try to get this land settled, but as at 1709 the French were in possession, having captured the territory in 1696; Bibye's lands were not re-captured till 1711.

The new recruit was quickly put to work by the Company. The War of the Spanish Succession was drawing to a close and negotiations for a peace were already in hand. At the protracted discussions which



Sir Donald A. Smith, later Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, was Governor of the Company from 1889 until 1914.

GERALD CAMPBELL

George T. Richardson, the thirty-second (and first Canadian-born) Governor was elected to the position in 1970.

were taking place in Holland the Company was maintaining its own representatives, in attendance on the diplomats to try to ensure that the Company's interests were not again lost to sight, as they had been at Ryswick. Admitted as an Adventurer as he bought his first stock in February 1709, Bibye was elected a Committee-man in April, was given the Company's *Books of Transactions with the French* to peruse, was supplied with a draft of borrowed money to cover his expenses, and early in May was sent off to Holland to urge the Company's claims. Bibye was originally accompanied on this mission by Captain John Merry, a Member of Parliament and an experienced Committee-man; later by James Knight, doyen of the active fur traders, unrivalled in knowledge of the posts and territories under dispute. As a group the Company's men were described by the diplomats as 'smug ancient gentlemen'; but they were not unsuccessful. Restoration of Hudson Bay and of Newfoundland was accepted as a prime objective of British policy; Marlborough was committed to the Company's cause although he had long ceased to be Governor, and so although the French insisted that the negotiations must be a matter of state, not of merchants, and the Company's men never attained any formal status, the Company's case was adopted in full. When the Preliminary Terms for a peace became known the Company declared itself satisfied; and the final terms for the Treaty of Utrecht, in March 1713, not only secured its posts for the Company but declared that they were to be *restored* – a term which assumed that they had always rightly belonged and had been wrongfully taken away – points which would have been in doubt if the term *cession* had been used.

The new Committee-man had acquitted himself well, and his value was recognized. Indeed, he was no longer merely a Committee-man, for in 1711 he had been made Deputy-Governor in succession to his father, and in 1712 he began his long career as Governor, presiding over his first Committee meeting in November of that year even before he had formally assumed office. He was poised ready to start the Company off on a new career of prosperity as trade began to flow and as the posts were restored. James Knight went back to the Bay, and the new regime was marked by a recognizable spirit of enterprise and speculation, with efforts to discover and develop minerals and 'Discovery to the Northwards', the founding of Churchill, and even a renewed search for the Straits of Anian and the Northwest Passage. In much of this the London Committee was a consenting party rather than the instigator; James Knight was the active spirit, Bibye Lake the calculating backer.

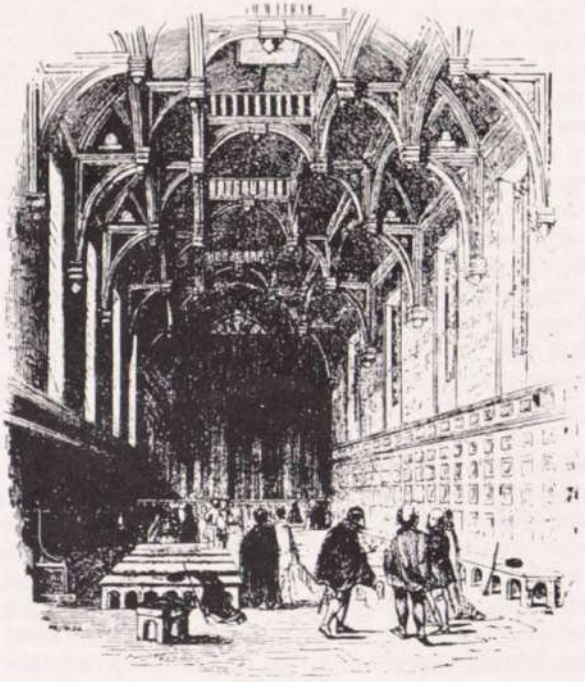
Such ventures, however, were causes of expenditure, not sources of profit; and Bibye's conservative approach may be judged from the fact that the effort to discover the Straits of Anian was organized on the basis of an agreement between James Knight and the Company, in which Knight figured almost as an independent adventurer. Nevertheless the disaster which overtook the expedition cost the Company about £8,000 and, apart from an effort to discover what had happened to Knight

by Captain Scroggs in 1721-22, it cured Bibye of hopes of minerals and trade by 'Discovery to the Northwards'. Churchill River, Fort Prince of Wales, and slooping voyages up the western coast of the Bay henceforth marked Company policy, and Bibye's reign became a prosperous 'Sleep by the Frozen Sea' until his hand was removed and the Company was awakened (in part by the challenge of the French on the Saskatchewan, in part by the clamour of Arthur Dobbs) to explore to the mouth of the Coppermine and to venture inland and build Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan.

The basis of the prosperous lethargy was a revival of the fur trade. Exports to the continent had begun to flow again as early as 1711, prices on the London market picked up, accumulated arrears of furs found buyers, money was available in the Committee's hands, and payment of dividends was resumed in 1718. The ten per cent which Adventurers then received was the first return on their investment for twenty-eight years. There were only thirty-five of them, for the most part active businessmen, a close little body gathered round their Governor and highly appreciative of the prosperity which, under him, was coming their way. He was himself the largest individual holder of stock, as his father had been, and his involvement was personal and intimate. In voting the dividend the Committee added thanks 'for the good management of the Governor Sir Bibye Lake'.

Trade continued to flourish and the dividend of 1718 was the first of an uninterrupted series of payments which ran for more than fifty quietly prosperous years.

Middle Temple Hall where Bibye Lake received part of his legal training.



For most of this period the shrewd and much respected Sir Bibye stood at the helm. He seems never to have dabbled in politics; he never became a figure of national importance. There is no mention of him in the Dictionary of National Biography and nothing is known of his personal appearance or habits. Was he tall or short, plump or lean, dark or fair, pretentious or simple in manner? Indeed, how did he pronounce his uncommon first name – perhaps as though he were saying an informal farewell? He remains impersonal, almost a de-personalized abstraction of the unobtrusive competence which marked the Company during the first half of the eighteenth century.

But Sir Bibye meant much to the Company; there is clear and obvious evidence to that effect. That the Company meant much to Sir Bibye is not so easily discernable though the evidence is there, to be gleaned piecemeal. The Company was certainly not Sir Bibye's only interest. He retained his holdings in other companies and his ventures in land and property, and he used the cash reserves of the Hudson's Bay Company as a backing for his other ventures. Already in 1713 he had begun to borrow from the Company (which now had cash available) to finance other operations. His first borrowings were small, £400 or £500, but these transactions were soon running at figures of £2,000 or £3,000, and so they continued throughout his tenure of office, sometimes in anticipation of payment of his dividends, sometimes against East India or other stocks, or landed estates, sometimes simply against his 'Note of Hand'. In mid-career, towards 1740, the Governor at times owed the Company £20,000 or more, and in 1738 the Committee secured a Chancery Injunction to prevent him from selling the £12,222 of stock which he then held. This was an unusual act of independence, for Sir Bibye seems generally to have got his own way; and within six months he had in fact transferred his holdings to nominees!

It seems clear that, normally, the Governor dominated the Committee and the Company, and that they were happy for him to do so. At the end of his tenure there was still a loan of over £1,000 outstanding and it took his heirs many years to clear the debt. On occasions the justification for his dealings is hard to find – as when in April 1718 he was allowed a loan of £7,000 at 3 per cent per annum and the Company then had to raise the money by borrowing at 5 per cent. But there can be no doubt that the Committee had confidence in the Governor, or that the confidence was warranted. He conducted his complicated transactions with scrupulous care, and he managed the Company's affairs so that his own borrowings were merely part of a profitable business of banking and investment, upon which the Company embarked under his leadership.

Short of ready money though the Company had been in the years before Sir Bibye, the Committee had nevertheless already begun something of a policy of

credit-finance and speculation. This was indeed reluctantly undertaken and was not notably successful; it was marked chiefly by the need to accept payment for hemp supplied to the Navy in post-dated Treasury Bills and by tentative dabbling in insurance business as the fur trade became stagnant. This was the particular responsibility of Sir Stephen Evans, a goldsmith-banker who became Governor of the Company in 1692 and who committed suicide in 1696 in the mistaken belief that he was bankrupt. The Lake family was closely involved with Evans and his dealings and, when under Sir Bibye the insurance responsibilities were satisfactorily wound up, this did not mean that the Company had turned its back on financial speculations. On the contrary, banking business became an organized and regular part of the Company's operations right from the first meeting over which Sir Bibye presided. The Company on that occasion borrowed £2,060 and invested the money in Bank of England notes and Exchequer Bills, which were locked away to mature at a profit.

Such activities continued, with speculation in government stocks, in the East India Company, the South Sea Company and many other trading ventures intermingled with loans to the Governor and with borrowings from bankers and from Committee members. It would require a great deal of persistent investigation by a qualified accountant to ascertain whether, in modern terms, the Company ultimately profited by these operations, but it is easily obvious that the Committee felt complete confidence in the Governor and approved his policies. It would, indeed, have been remarkable if this had not been so, for these were the years of the growing mania for speculation which culminated in the South Sea Bubble; and the Governor steered the Company safely through the Bubble years, with considerable long-term profit to the Adventurers.

How much of this outcome was due to skill, how much to inadvertence, must remain an open question. Sir Bibye certainly got the credit, but probably his greatest contribution to survival was that he was slow off the mark, so that although the Company missed the chance of profit during the ebullient early period of the Bubble, it was not yet committed and was able to withdraw when confidence had begun to ebb and the Bubble was about to burst.

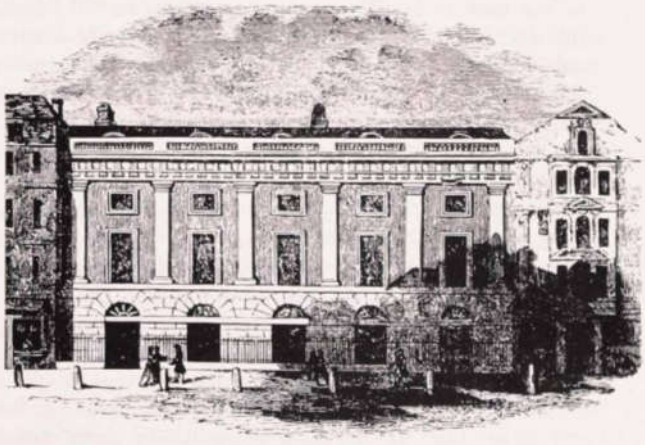
The boom, and belief in the 'Fund of Credit' theory which lay behind the boom, were not confined to England. Paris was 'the Mecca of Europe' in 1719, with the Scottish-born John Law in control; and in 1719, at the height of the boom, Sir Bibye was in Paris pushing for the enforcement of the Company's version of the terms agreed at Utrecht. His absence may perhaps explain why the Company was so slow to move as prices soared and credit flowed. But the climax of the boom did not reach London until the summer of 1720, with the month of June marking the high spot. Then in a single week new capital issues floated in London came to £224 millions while South Sea Company stocks, which had already risen by over 200 per cent in the early months of the year, rose by a further 600 per cent in five weeks. The atmosphere was hectic, almost frantic; and Governor Sir Bibye was there. But the peak weeks of the boom passed without any attempt to improve or enlarge the Company's finances.

It was not until 19th August that the Governor came to the Committee with a proposal to enlarge the stock and to increase the volume of trade. Approval was readily given, a General Court of the Adventurers empowered the Governor to work out details, and on 29th and 30th August the Governor secured approval for his proposals.

Up to this date the actual capital taken up by the Company was no more than the £10,050 with which the original Adventurers of 1670 had been credited – and it is doubtful whether all of them paid in full for their shares. During the period of prosperity which had been marked by the first dividend (of 50 per cent in 1684) the nominal value of these shares had been trebled by a free issue to all holders. Though this brought the book value of shares up to £31,500 it added nothing to the working capital of the Company. The move gave the Adventurers more shares to sell, or to claim dividends on, but it still left the nominal value of the capital of the Company at a figure far less than the most conservative estimate of the assets, and it left the Company with a ludicrously low capital involvement. In 1720, in comparable circumstances, Sir Bibye proposed to repeat the manoeuvre. A bonus issue of two shares for every one held was to bring the nominal capital of the Company up to £94,500. This, of course, would give the Adventurers more opportunity to sell on the delirious London Exchange but would bring no additional funds to the Company.

The new issue would bring the stock of the Company into a more realistic relationship to the value of the assets held, but to enlarge the trade and to make it 'more

Old East India House, 1726.



a National Interest' additional working capital would be needed. The enlarged stock would therefore have further new shares 'engrafted' on to it at the rate of three new shares for each old share. The new issue should bring in £283,500 and should bring the total share value up to £378,000 – still a low figure by comparison with the £10 millions subscribed for the South Sea Company, over £3 millions for the East India Company or £450,000 for the Royal African Company. The new capital would have to be subscribed, but that seemed to present no problems. Indeed, the expectation was that the 'enlarged stock' would go to a premium, so only existing stock holders were to be given allocations. When the new shares came on offer, in September, they were not only to be restricted to existing Adventurers but were to be allocated on payment of only 10 per cent of their value, the remainder to be paid in at three-monthly intervals. Prospects of a quick profit by getting large allocations against token payment, to be quickly sold for a full enhanced price, were so rosy that Sir Bibye was presented with five hundred guineas in gratitude for his services as the proposals were accepted.

Optimism lasted through the first week of September, by the end of which the new stock had brought in almost £2,500 in cash. But these payments came entirely from men who already had a stake in the Company, and their payments soon dwindled. In the City confidence had disappeared, panic reigned, and bankruptcies were as common as new flotations had been a month ago. Even South Sea stocks were selling at a discount; they fell from a price of £1,050 in June to £121 in December. Sir Bibye could not ignore the situation. He informed a General Court of the Company in November that 'the Posture of Affaires in Generall being much Altered' the new arrangements should be halted. It was agreed that the tripling of the stock should stand, that those who had already begun to pay for the new 'engrafted' stock should be allowed their allocation, but that no further issues should be made. The outcome was that the nominal value of the Company's capital stood at £94,500 for the old stock plus 10 per cent on account of the new stock. This was obviously an agreed figure, for £3,150 had been paid in cash and it had been resolved that those who had so paid should be given shares to three times the value of their initial payment but should be excused from further demands and should not get the full allocation of ten times the value of their payment.

It had been a lucky escape, both for the Company as a chartered corporation and for the Adventurers as individuals. There were very few London companies which came through the Bubble so happily. Despite the loss of a ship and the inevitable drop in fur prices, the Company was able to pay a dividend of 5 per cent on the enlarged stock in June 1721, and that represented a return of over 15 per cent to those who had held at the old values, before the new subscription came under discussion. With his reputation as a financier reinforced by his experience in negotiations with the French, Sir Bibye was firmly entrenched, and so he continued for the rest of his life – so strongly entrenched that he was succeeded as Governor by his son Sir Atwell Lake.

Meticulous and efficient though Sir Bibye may have been, it was not to be expected that his period of control would be marked by imaginative innovations. He seems to have been genuinely shocked by the failure of James Knight's expedition and by the revelation of the relief expedition in the following year that his old companion in the treaty negotiations had probably been eaten by Eskimos. Henceforth he pulled back from projects of expansion; policy was strongly directed to dependence on the Indians bringing their furs down to the posts by the shore, and to building up the fortifications of those posts against French attacks. The imposing stone-built Fort Prince of Wales at Churchill epitomized the Company's attitude under Sir Bibye.

It was out of character that, under pressure from the Admiralty, he gave an interview to Arthur Dobbs, to discuss the Ulsterman's conviction that the Company was preventing the discovery of the Northwest Passage. Reluctant as he was to embark on explorations, Sir Bibye went through the documentation in the Company's records and in 1737 ordered two sloops north from Churchill to Roe's Welcome, partly to build up a trade in whale oil and seal skins and partly to observe tidal conditions and other factors which might bear upon the possible existence of a Northwest Passage. The possibility of a mine of some sort was also in mind.

The expedition was a complete failure. Captain Napper of the *Churchill* died at Whale Cove, trade was negligible, navigation dangerous, and the Eskimos unreliable. Only the fact that a promise had been made that the ships should return for trade prevented the complete abandonment of voyages to the north. Slooping voyages continued, but Sir Bibye concluded – and so informed Arthur Dobbs – that the 1737 venture had not revealed 'any the least Appearance of a Passage'. So, while de la Vérendrye and his family worked their way westwards and while Dobbs and Middleton accumulated information (sometimes from the Company's documents), Sir Bibye and his Committee frowned on enterprise and kept all information close. They found their justification in the failure of early experiments and in the prosperity of the Company.

Sir Bibye had moulded the Company to his own personality; and the man who had been described as a smug ancient gentleman at the age of twenty-five had indeed acquired those characteristics by the time he was fifty. The Company which he had shaped was vindicated when it was subjected to the Parliamentary Enquiry of 1749; but that such an enquiry should have been put in hand was in itself a criticism of the sober competence which he contributed and which made the Perpetual Governor so secure in his office. ◆

PAC

'Return to the Cabane after running Moose. Done & footsore.' From a sketch attributed to Hampton Moody, c. 1840.

The journal of J. Dufaut, unpublished and untranslated until this time, is Volume 10 in the series of traders' journals which form part of the Masson Papers in the Public Archives of Canada. Translated and edited by Howard A. Vernon, Associate Professor of History, State University of New York-New Platz, it is published here by permission of the Public Archives of Canada.

The Journal is Dufaut's daily account of life in the bush during the winter of 1803-04, in what is today south western Manitoba. Although little is known of Dufaut, he was, at the period covered by his journal, in the employ of the XY Company which merged with the North West Company in 1804. In 1803-04, Thomas McMurray of the XY Company was in charge of the XY post at Fort Dauphin on the northwest point of Lac des Prairies. It was on his orders that Dufaut and his companions set out to spend the winter near the former site of Fort des Epinettes on the north side of the Assiniboine River, a site which had been abandoned in 1794.

Such wintering accounts provide information concerning weather conditions, the game and fish the trader himself was able to catch, and the goods that were traded with the Indians for various skins and pelts. They give one insight, moreover, as to what the conditions of life were for the fur traders in the vast wilderness of Rupert's Land over one hundred and fifty years ago.

The Journal of J. Dufaut

OCTOBER

7 – On the same day 7th M. de Gadon and I left Fort Dauphin to go to our wintering place, both of us in a small canoe which followed the larger one. We arrived down river, where we were weatherbound by the wind. We pitched our tents and found the fishing good. We gummed our canoes; three men are in the larger canoe – Martelle, Fournier, and Baptiste La Salle.

8 – Beautiful weather. We set off and arrived further down river – Rivière du Milieu, where we slept. In the night, the dogs ate three pieces of meat, and the men were unable to sleep.

9 – Sunday. Beautiful weather. High winds. We set off and were obliged to camp at the salt lick *(saline)* in the neighbourhood of Rivière Las. Weatherbound by the wind, we went hunting and killed a few ducks.

10 – Beautiful weather. Wind behind us. Good sailing. We arrived at Pointe à la Biche [location not recorded on early known maps] where we camped. We stretched our lines and found fishing good – white fish and pike.

11 – Good weather but high winds, which prevented us from travelling. We pitched a large tent, and found fishing good.

12 – Good weather with calm waters. We arrived at noon at Fort des Epinettes where we decided to winter, following Mr. [Thomas] McMurray's orders. On our arrival, we all took a drink of double strength rum. An Indian named Kekanotin arrived who gave us news of the other Indians. I made axe handles to prepare to go to work, and nets were put out. The fort is entirely in ruins.

13 – Good weather, but windy. The men are at work on the cabin. Gave to Kekanotin a small barrel of two *pots*

[*pot* equalled 2 French pints or 1.81 American quarts] of mixed rum and one comb made of boxwood. L'Oiseau Rouge and Cou Croche arrived and we gave them as presents one small barrel of two *pots* of mixed rum, and a *demiard* [about one-half an English pint] to Kekanotin. M. de Gadon inspected the tents; fishing was good.

14 – Good weather but high winds. The men are at work building a cabin, and we mended our tents.

15 – Cloudy weather. It snowed and sleeted. Bertrand arrived, and turned over to us one beaver for meat, with its fur. Other Indians arrived as follows: Le Coup Fort, L'Oiseau Rouge, Kekanotin, Cou Croche, Mangiquiijique, La Loge, and Le Petit Borgne, which makes seven. Given as present to Coup Fort, one small barrel of mixed rum. To Mangiquiijique, ditto. To Petit Borgne, ditto. To La Loge, ditto. In addition one gallon for past accounts.

For one canoe – two pints of mixed rum.
For one canoe – 3 pints of mixed rum.
For a case of seals – 1 pinte of mixed rum.
For 1 dog – 1½ pints mixed rum
For dried meat – 1½ pints mixed rum
For canoe gum – 2 *brasses* [linear measure the span of the arms] of lace given on credit to Petit Borgne. Also 1 comb. The men are working on the cabin.

16 – Sunday. Fair weather. M. de Gadon and the men played cards. Given to La Loge, on credit, for 4 skins – 1 hunting knife, one awl, 2 needles, 6 flints, and 1 gun worm.

17 – Good weather. The men are working on the cabin. M. de Gadon is ill. I repaired a net. Last night snow fell. The son-in-law of Michel, La Loge, Kekanotin, L'Oiseau Rouge, Le Coup Fort, Le Cou Croche, and Le Petit Borgne, which make seven, plus 13 other Indians have left for the hunt.

18 – Cloudy weather. ½ inch of snow fell in the preceding night. The men are at work on the cabin, and stretched the nets. They have taken 90 white fish and pike. I have begun another net and M. de Gadon is putting out nets.

19 – Fair weather. It froze in the night. I have worked on the nets, and M. de Gadon is busy with the fish caught. We have taken 180 white fish and pike. Received moose meat from L'Oiseau Rouge. The men have gone to fetch the meat. M. de Gadon killed a swan.

20 – Fair weather. The men are working on the cabin. I am at work on nets. La Loge arrived, bringing 1½ moose, for which I gave him 2 pints of double strength [rum] and in addition, 1 *demiard* double strength rum when I accepted it [the moose]. Also 1 wooden plate and 1 *demiard* of mixed rum on his departure. We have caught 105 fish. Also given to La Loge, 1 *jointé* [a dry measure: two hands cupped together] of powder, and to the same, on credit, 1 additional *jointé* of powder, and 20 rifle balls.

NOVEMBER

8 – Fair weather. M. de Gadon left with his wife as a guide, and Martel, to look for L'Oiseau Rouge. He took with him 1 small 2-*pots* barrel of mixed rum. They returned the same day, not having found him. He brought back the small barrel. Fournier made the door to the cabin, and is cutting wood. Kekanotin arrived with L'Oiseau Rouge, bringing 2 beavers with their meat; I made him a drink of ½ pint of double strength rum.

9 – Cloudy weather. High winds. We have set up to dry, 2,237 pieces of white fish, pike, etc., not including what we have eaten and given to the Indians. Martel and Fournier have worked at building a sled, but it broke. Kekanotin has left. For his beavers, he was given 1 coverlet, 1 small canoe, and 1 small chisel.

10 – Cloudy weather. Fournier is cutting wood and Martel is making moccasins and mittens. He has laid out his stores to prepare to go among the Indians. M. de Gadon's wife is stretching and brushing beaver skins. Two sturgeon nets have been made.

11 – Fair weather. I have prepared goods for M. de Gadon as follows: Given to him: 2 *brasses* of common cloth, 2 *brasses* of common cloth with 3 strips. 1 blanket of 3 swatches, 1 blanket of 2½ swatches, ½ blanket of 1½ swatches, ½ blanket of 1 swatch, 2 rolls of lace embroidery, 1 *demiard*-size *pot*, 3 packages of white beads, 3 *masses* of diamond-point chisels, 1 pair of sleeves, ¼ pound of vermillion, 1 chisel, 2 tomahawks, 23 flints for fire lighting, 5 skeins of coloured thread, 1 dagger, 2 paper-backed mirrors, 2 boxwood combs, 1 horn comb, 4 gun worms, 4 awls, 2 pints of powder, 100 rifle balls, 1 *demiard* of lead.

Silver Trinkets: 20 pairs small earrings, 12 porcelain pins, 50 small crosses, 4 ear wheels [earrings], 2 large crosses, 4 small turtles [decorative], 20 pair of square earrings, 60 small common decorative pins, 24 small common rounded pins, 50 large common decorative pins, 26 branches of blue porcelain, 20 branches of white porcelain, 2 lumberman's knives, 6 *brasses* of tobacco, 1 half-axe, 1 small 2-*pot* barrel of double strength rum, 1½ pint barrel of double strength rum, 2 gross of needles, 1 dozen medium-sized needles. We opened one barrel from which we drew the small barrels mentioned above.

The brooch designs illustrated above are typical of those favoured by members of the Iroquois confederacy.

The simple circular brooch or 'breast-buckle' was one of the most popular silver ornaments.

DECEMBER

4 – Sunday. Fair weather. Fournier has visited his lines and has taken 8 pike. M. de Gadon arrived with his wife and his granddaughter, Martel and an Indian whom he'd taken as a guide, and left La Salle to guard his merchandise. Two *demiards* double strength rum to M. de Gadon for 1 large beaver, and one drink for his wife. Paid to M. de Gadon's guide, 1 pint double strength rum, 1 pair of *gators* of common cloth, 1 woodsman's knife, 15 musket balls, 1 *poigné* [handful] of lead, ½ *jointé* of powder, and 2 flints, for his service as guide.

Received from M. de Gadon, to wit: 17 large beavers, 2 small beavers, 2 lynx, 2 martins, 1 mink, 3 muskrats.

From which we retained 12 large beavers and 1 lynx for the meat, which was eaten.

5 – Fair weather. Fournier has caught 9 pike.

6 – Fair weather. M. de Gadon and I have counted our peltries which are in the store, as follows: 49 large beavers, 4 small beavers, 4 lynx, 5 otters, 3 fishers, 4 martins, 4 minks, 6 muskrats, 3 scraped skins.

Given to M. de Gadon for his return to the Indians, to wit: 1 *brasse* of common cloth, 1 *brasse* of red English cloth, 1½ *tasse* [mis-spelling of tas, meaning 'heap or pile'] of common cloth, 1 blanket of 1½ points, 1 small flannel dress, 2 half-axes, 1 large silver neck band, 5 *brasses* of tobacco, 1 small pistol, 1 *demiard*-size basin, 1 *jointé* of powder, 30 rifle balls, 1 *poigné* of lead, 6 flints, 1 steel box, 1 large skein of fish netting, 1 ivory comb, 1 paper mirror, 3 barrels, each containing 2 *pots*, making 6 *pots* double strength [rum]. Martel has checked his lines and has caught 4 pike.

7 – Fair weather. M. de Gadon left with his guide and Martel. Gave the men a drink of 1 *roquille* [about 1/3 of a pint] double strength, and one of the same on their departure.

21 – Cloudy weather. I visited my traps. M. de Gadon has made 3 of them; Fournier cuts wood and hauls it for the cabin. Gave M. de Gadon one *roquille* double strength [rum] as a tonic.

22 – Overcast. I have written to Fort Dauphin. Fournier visited his lines and has caught 9 pike.

23 – Fair weather. M. de Gadon left early with Martel to go to Fort Dauphin. I checked the lines, and we have caught 7 pike. I visited my traps and have taken one fisher.

24 – Fair weather. I visited my traps and have caught one lynx. Fournier has caught one fisher and 10 pike.

JANUARY

28 – Overcast. Mangiquijiqua arrived at the camp. Fournier has caught 8 pike. The men are working. One *roquille* of brandy as a welcome for the Indians. Mangiquijiqua brought in 2 otters and 2 beavers.

29 – Fair weather. One-half pint of brandy dispensed to the men for drinks. L'Oiseau Rouge and his family arrived; Kekanotin and his wife, the old Cou Croche arrived. Dispensed to them as a welcome, ½ pint of brandy; 1 pint to Mangiquijiqua, the same to Kekanotin;

the latter brought 4 beavers, L'Oiseau Rouge brought 3, Cou Croche one treated caribou skin; De Gadon caught one fox. As payment given to L'Oiseau Rouge, 1¼ pints of brandy, one *demiard* of brandy for a treated pelt, 3 *roquilles* for one treated caribou hide, 1 *demiard* for one fox skin; one *demiard* for one beaver, one pint for 2 beavers and one lynx, and one *demiard* for one beaver. Fournier caught 7 pike. The men are at work.

MAY

6 – Sunday. It is raining and snowing. Allaire and La Salle arrived; they left the canoe gum at the rapids. We stretched a fish net. Good fishing.

7 – Overcast. Allaire cut wood for Ducharme. La Salle is cutting for our living quarters. We have mended a net. De Gadon killed a white crane.

8 – Overcast. High winds and cold. I have been hunting, and killed one bustard and 10 ducks. De Gadon had the gum prepared that Bertrand had left, and there is a barrel of it, short 11 *livres* [slightly over one English pound]; Martel arrived, and he is sick. La Salle prepares his gum and Allaire is helping him.

9 – Overcast. High winds and cold. La Salle is preparing his gum; Allaire does nothing. It rained heavily all night, and leaked into the quarters and the store, and flooded outside both. We had to cover the pelts and the merchandise with the tarpaulin.

14 – Kekanotin arrived, bringing 6 beavers and one otter. De Gadon gave me ½ *brasse* of cloth for the 2½ pelts from my hunt. Given to Kekanotin for his catch, 1 bed coverlet. Given as a present to the Indians, one gallon of brandy, one *chopine* [.98 English pint] of powder, one *poigné* of lead. We are preparing our goods for our departure. Given in exchange for gum, ½ pint of brandy and one *brasse* of tobacco; also given for gum, one *masse* [a quantity of merchandise whose weight or amount was determined by usage] of diamond-point chisels.

Double-barred or Lorraine crosses manufactured by Montreal and Quebec silversmiths were a popular trade item.

C. GRANT

15 – Fair weather. The men are preparing their gum. State of merchandise and pelts which are in the storehouse, to wit: 1 piece of 3-striped cloth, 7¾ *verges* [almost 1 English yard] of 3-striped cloth, 8¾ *verges* of red cloth, ½ *verge* of common blue cloth, 1 pair of 3-point blankets, plain, 2 pairs of 3-point striped blankets, 1½ pairs of 2½-point common blankets, ½ pair of 2½-point striped blankets, 2 pairs of 2-point common blankets, ½ pair of 1½-point common blankets, 1 pair of 1-point common blankets, 2 Indian mantlets, 2 Indian great coats of 3½ points, 2 Indian great coats of 3 points, 1 Indian great coat of 2 points, 2 Indian great coats of 1½ points, 4 childrens' flannel dresses, 4 pairs of sleeves, 2 linen shirts, 2 Indian shirts, 7½ rolls of lace, 5 skeins of wool, 9 large woodmens' knives, 2 daggers, 1 pistolet, ½ spool of coloured thread, 3 boxes of round coloured Indian beads, 3 boxes of long coloured Indian beads, 2 boxes of white Indian beads, 2 *masses* of porcelain diamond-pointed chisels, 2 *masses* of common diamond-pointed chisels, 2 rolls of ribbons, 26¾ *verges* of ribbons, 8 paper mirrors, 5 pairs of scissors, 5 small gilded mirrors, 2 steel boxes, 11 dozen demijohns, 2 horns, ½ box of *vermillion*, 1½ sticks of sulphur, 4 boxwood combs, 3 bone combs, 1 ivory comb, 1 stabbing awl, 49 awls, 47 spools of Alton thread, 1 strand of twisted cotton, 2 boxes of ointment, 77 needles, 1 gimlet, 1 *chopin*-sized *pot*, 2 *roquille*-sized *pots*, 14 fire flints, 121 gun worms, 76 gun flints, 32 *jointés* of powder, 25 *poignés* of lead, 6 beaver traps, 2 boxes fish lines, 7 pints of brandy, 10 used axes, 7 tomahawks, 2 mattocks, 1 ice chopper, 1 spear, 1 auger, 1 cooper's adze, 1 hammer, 1 compass saw, 2 padlocks, 1 pitcher, 1 pair of strap hinges, 1 pint-sized *pot*, 1 *demiard*-sized *pot*, 1 collander, 4 fish nets, 1 rasp, 1 large case.

Silver Trinkets: 2 large arm bands, 2 pairs of earwheels, 1 neckband, 2 large double crosses, 2 large simple crosses, 4 shells, 7 small beavers, 8 small turtles, 45 small rounded ornamental pins, 69 small crosses, 295 ordinary ornamental pins, 75 pairs of squared earrings, 200 small plain ornamental pins, 99 pairs of small earrings, 12 porcelain clusters, 12 branches of blue porcelain, 21 branches of white porcelain.

Furs and Pelts – in packages:

1. containing 50 large beavers and 11 small weighing..... 90 pounds
2. containing 47 large beavers and 20 small weighing.....90 pounds

C. GRANT

Beads of assorted colours, shapes, and sizes were a standard item throughout the fur-trade era.

3. containing 35 large beavers, 11 small weighing.....66 pounds
246 pounds

18 otters, 2 badgers
Carried over .....246 pounds

4. containing 5 large beavers and 1 small weighing.....9 pounds
255 pounds

6 caribou hides, 7 badgers, 9 lynx, 10 fishers, 43 martins, 11 mink, 1 otter, 1 silver fox, 2 red foxes, 6 muskrats, 14 pounds of beavers.....14 pounds
269 pounds

16 – Fair weather. Giroux has repaired the canoe with the other men. M. de Gadon left with Martel and his family in the small canoe.

He is to wait for us further down the river. I shot 2 ducks and have worked at arranging my effects. Ducharme has given no service to the Society. Two cases of gum were needed to gum the canoe.

17 – Fair weather. The men and Giroux are gumming the canoe. Our canoe load is as follows: 2 bales of merchandise, 4 packs of furs, 1 barrel of salt, 1 opened barrel of rum, 1 case of silver trinkets, 6 traps, 4 nets, 4½ barrels of pitch, 9 sacks and 1 case of pitch, 3 cases, 3 new cauldrons, 5 used cauldrons, 1 compass saw, 1 canoe and its canoemen, 1 sack of scrap iron. ◆

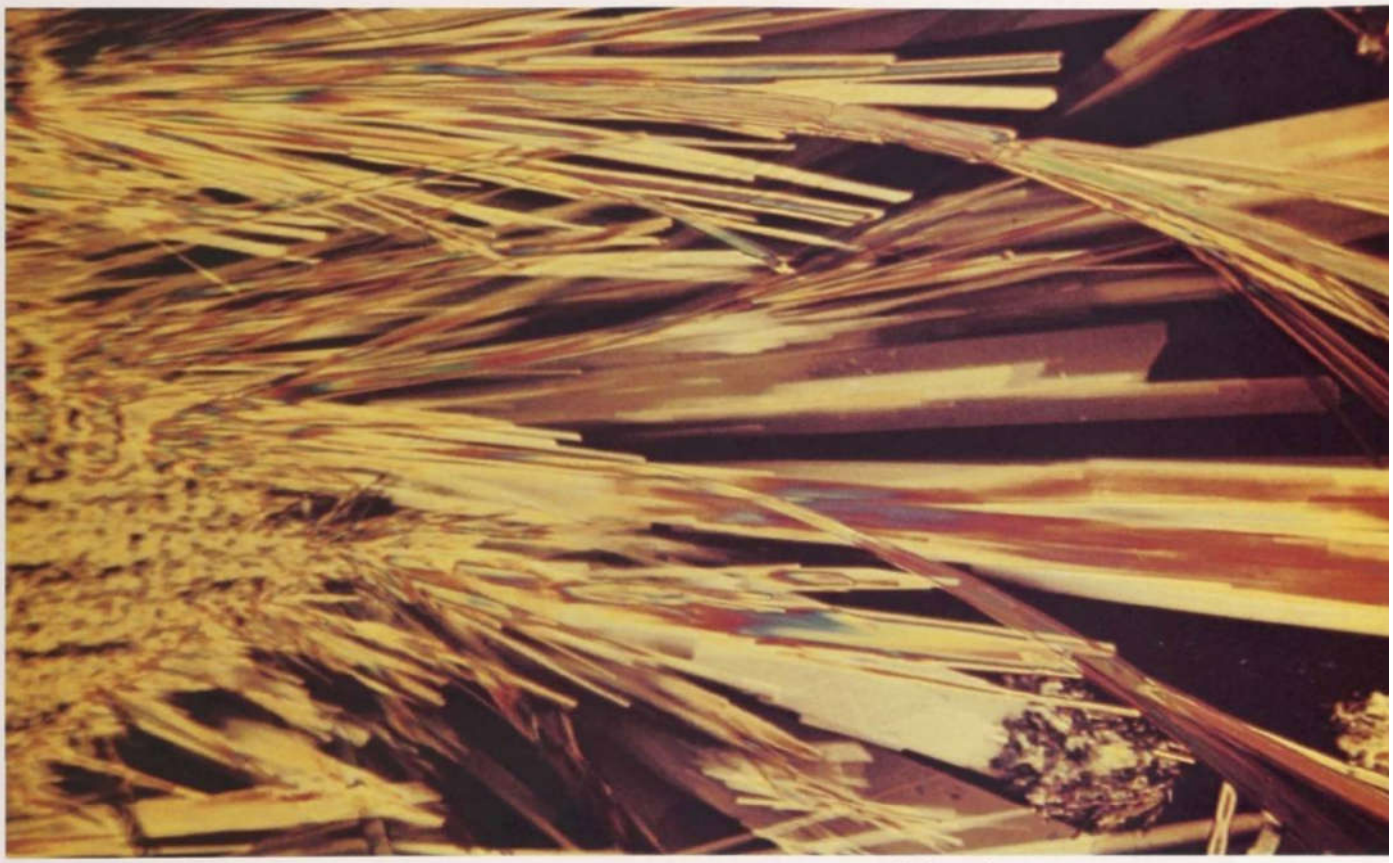
Colour Magic

Malic acid.

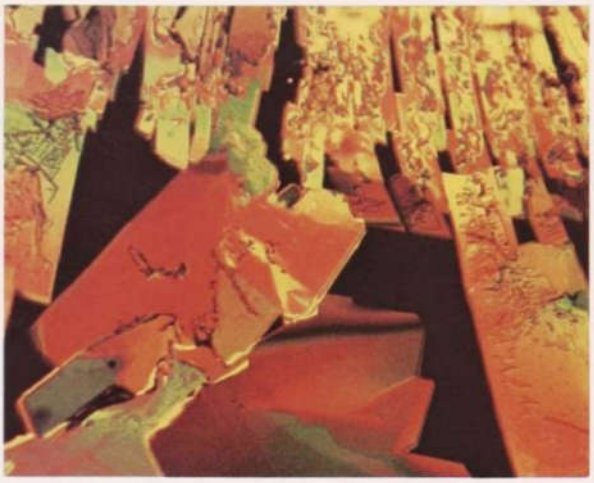
UNDER the microscope, in polarized light, some chemical substances exhibit colour effects and beauty of design that rival those produced by an abstract painter. Here is a sampling of work from the files of Montreal photographer

BARBARA K. DEANS

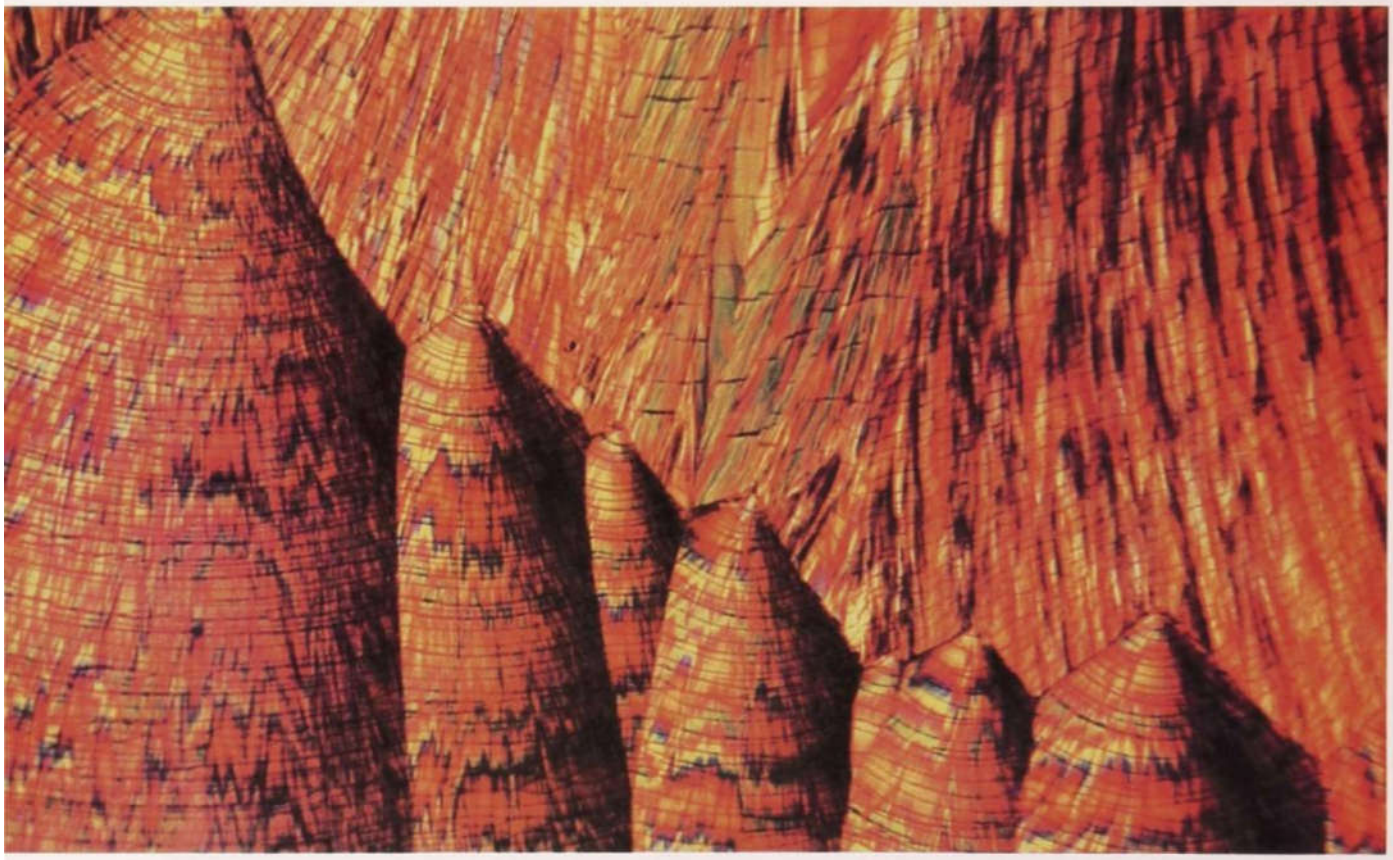
Lidocaine.



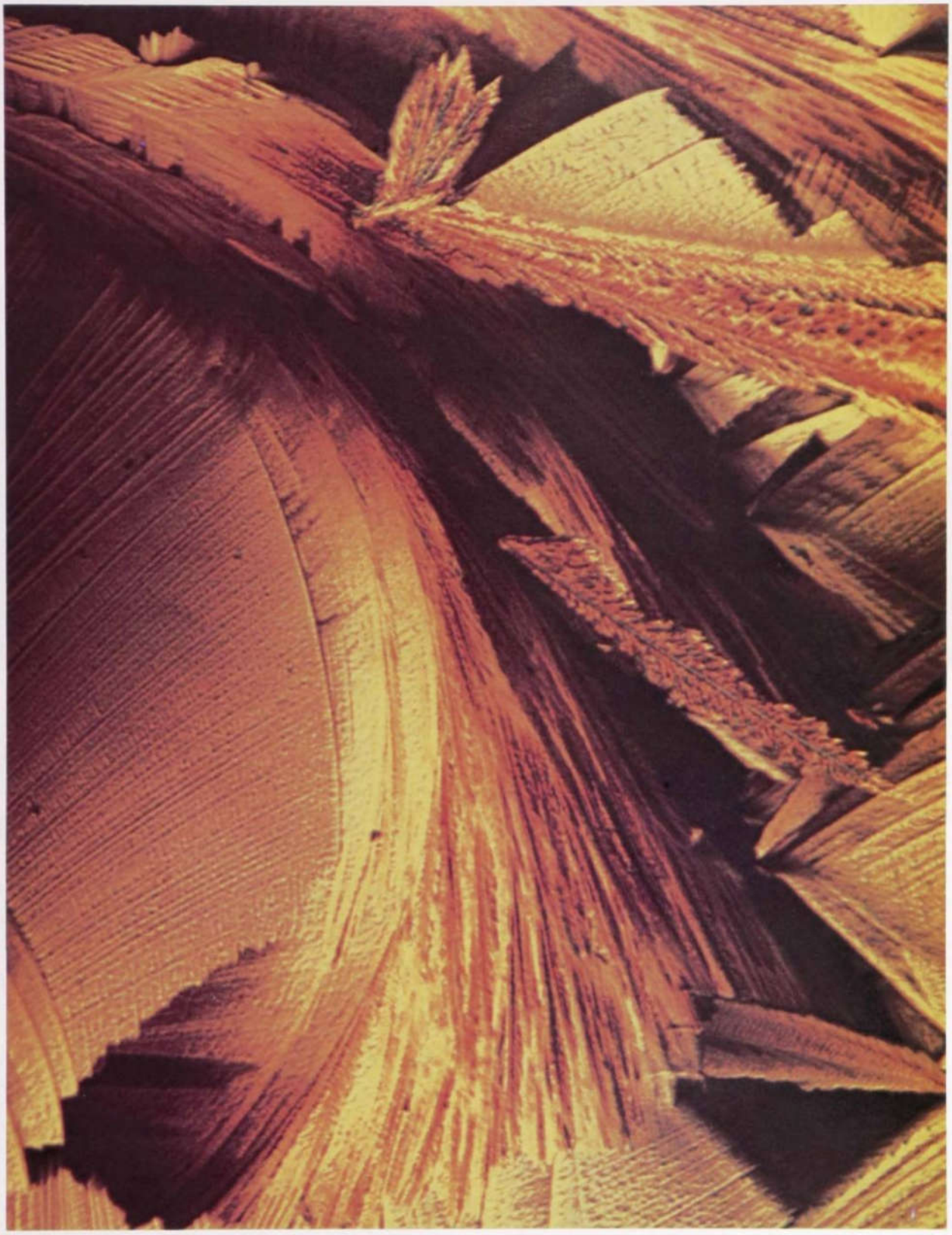
Cholesterol.



Citric acid.



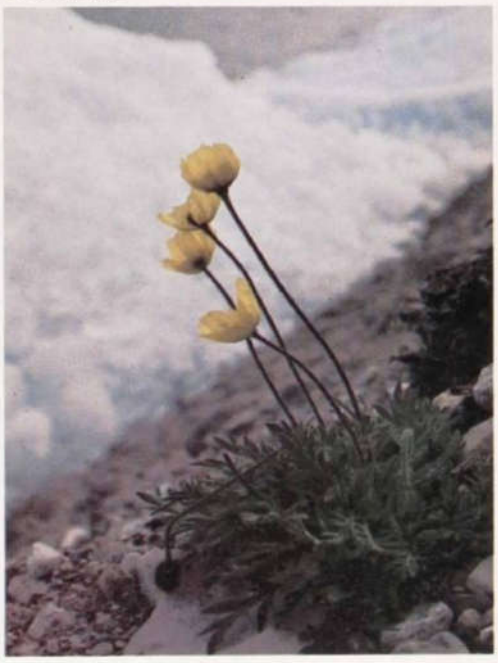
Hippuric acid.



Tartaric acid.

Eskimo summer camp at Bon Accord Harbour, Cumberland Sound.

Arctic poppy.



ACROSS BAFFIN ISLAND BY CANOE

BY JOHN VERBY and DAVE BUETOW

Photographs, except where noted, are by Dave Buetow.

Of the three young American canoeists who travelled Inland Baffin Island, Bruce Koci and Dave Buetow are biologists; John Verby is an insurance underwriter in Minneapolis.

ON 2 AUGUST 1973 as we waited for our Eskimo guide, Norman Komotaok, at Pangnirtung, we could see a thin line of white ice against the horizon beyond the mouth of the fiord on Cumberland Sound. It was not an encouraging sign.

Our plans were to travel inland in an 18-foot Chestnut canoe via Nettilling Fiord and Lake, an area covered earlier by Franz Boas in 1883-84, by Bernard Hantzsch in 1911, and by J. Dewey Soper in 1925. From the Great Plain of the Koukdjuak we intended to head north through Hantzsch's Majoraridjen and the De War Lake area and then on to Clyde. Time and terrain made the journey an ambitious undertaking. The alternative, should this prove impossible, was to return via Amadjuak Lake to Frobisher Bay.

In recent years, the attention of outside visitors has been focussed on Baffin's spectacular east coast mountains. The vast inland wilderness, isolated and seldom visited, held great appeal.

Our first obstacle on the journey was the seventy miles of ice-choked water across Cumberland Sound to Tornait Bay where we would begin to paddle. Reluctant to tackle the ocean with its 25-foot tides and drifting ice, we contracted with Norman Komotaok to tow us across. Those first four days on the sound were a highlight of the trip.

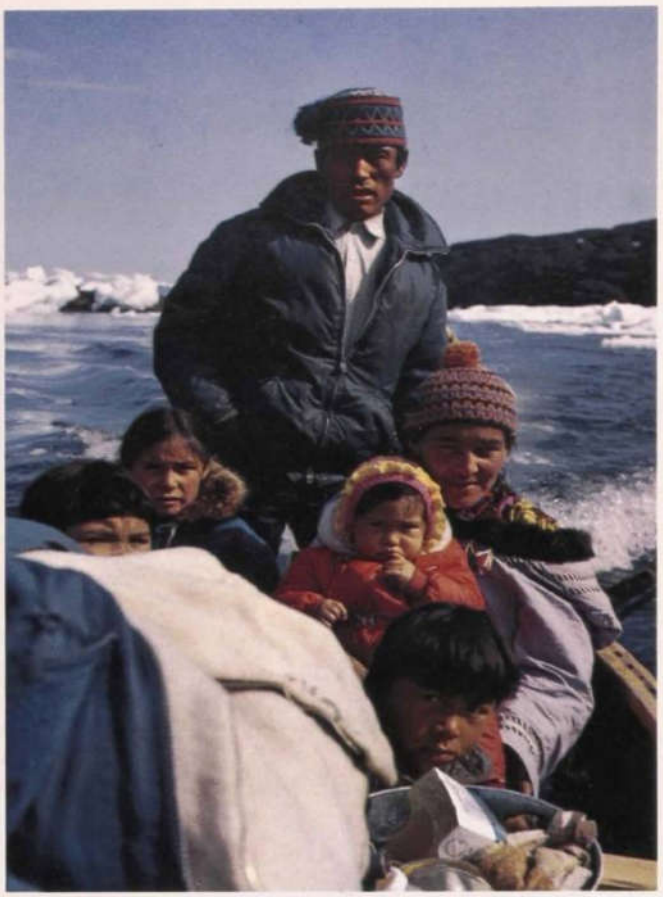
On the second night out, motor troubles forced us into an Eskimo hunting camp to make repairs. Norman was unable to correct the problem and could take us no further. Fortunately another hunter agreed to tow us the rest of the way. The next morning practically the whole camp packed up and came with us. Several canoes strong, we continued on across the head of Cumberland Sound, calling along the way at a hunting camp at Bon Accord Harbour. We were welcomed with warm handshakes and hot tea, and here saw the evidence of an ancient camp site – bleached whalebone protruding from two-foot-high mounds of greener tundra. A snowmobile, perched on a nearby rise, made the scene a curious mixture of the old and new.

By evening we had reached an island near Tornait Bay where the Eskimos quickly set up camp. The men and women went about their chores while the children played on the barren rocky shore, the small boys pulling milk-carton boats along the water's edge on a string.

The next morning, 5 August, we were escorted the final distance to the outlet of Freshwater Lake. Apart from one other group of Eskimos whom we met several days later, these were the last people we saw for 37 days. Just before we left we pointed to where we were going on our map and asked our Eskimo guide if there would be any people in there.

'Three' he said, holding up three fingers and pointing to the three of us.

The traverse from Tornait Bay to Nettilling Lake involved a fifteen-mile journey on Nettilling Fiord. Paddling here, we saw that the water was immensely



The second Eskimo guide with his family, escorts the canoeists through the heavy ice in Cumberland Sound.

rich; clouds of shrimp-like creatures and jelly fish were everywhere. That evening, camp was made at Kangia, an old Eskimo camp site at the head of the chain of lakes, which form the ancient route to Nettilling Lake. Portages were slow, for our pile of gear required doubling back. The trail was well marked with stone cairns and at one point, a path of flat stones was cleared through a boulder field. This route, we later learned, had once been used by the Talirpingmiut, ancestors of the Eskimos who now live in Pangnirtung. They travelled each summer to the game-rich areas of the Great Plain of the Koukdjuak on the western shore of Nettilling Lake. In recent years, as the need for caribou hides for winter clothing decreased, the route has fallen into disuse.

The beautiful, sunny, calm weather stayed with us for several days as we followed the ancient trail. Thumbnail-sized flowers were everywhere in the sheltered areas, drawing the eye with their intense colours. Many were alpine in character, seldom dense enough to make an overall concentration of colour in the surroundings, but always visible to the searching eye. Temperatures inland were warmer – mostly in the 50s during the day and the

Ice-bound Magnetic Point, Nettilling Lake.

low 40s at night. This brought out mosquitoes which continually hovered about.

As we neared Nettilling, the highlands gradually became gently rolling hills. The transition from mountains to highlands to plains seemed abrupt. Vegetation was sparse but, compared to the lichen-encrusted rocks of Cumberland Sound, seemed almost lush.

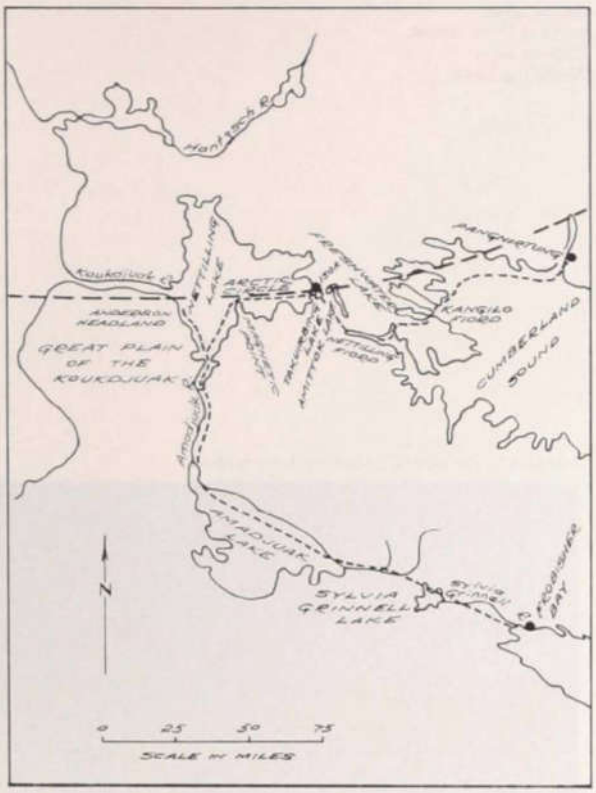
On 8 August we reached Takuirbing Lake near Isoa, a former base for summer travel to the western areas of the lake. It was here that the skin boats would be left to be picked up the following year and sledged to Tikeraqdjuaq where the people settled for the summer. Boas wrote:

> As numerous deer are found in this region, they live without any care or trouble. Very soon after their arrival the birds return. While moulting, great quantities of these are caught. Geese are so abundant here they are fed to the dogs. Many deer are caught while passing the deep river which runs from Lake Amaqdjuaq to Lake Nettilling. Frequently they visit the southern plains, which are filled with lakes and lakelets. Sometimes they go as far as Amaqdjuaq, which, as the older natives report, was formerly a summer settlement.

Paddling the southeast segment of Nettilling Lake, clear air and a low-lying shoreline made navigation difficult; the numerous islands and points blended together. On 12 August as we rounded Magnetic Point, we encountered heavy ice about 100 yards from shore. Tired from thirty miles of paddling we pulled in to make camp for the night, and during that evening the wind pushed the ice up on shore. Here we were trapped with nothing to do but wait for conditions to change. About this time we started to keep an informal record of the plants we found, identifying them and pressing samples in our log book. One afternoon while weatherbound, we collected enough lousewort roots and mountain sorrel leaves for a tundra casserole. This added a satisfying bit of fresh vegetable to our usual diet of dried food.

On the 14th we were freed by favourable winds, crossed the southern narrows near Tundra Point and reached the edge of the Great Plain of the Koukdjuak by evening. There the western shore of the lake was extremely level, rising only 10-15 feet above the lake. The beaches showed many caribou tracks, and as we travelled north, we sighted caribou, usually in groups of eight to ten. Curious about our presence, they ran parallel to us on the shore, occasionally stopping to watch us at a distance. Their grace as they moved over the grassy tundra was always beautiful to watch. On shore we could walk to within thirty yards of the animals. At close range, they appeared fat and had good, clean coats.

Near the Anderson Headland, on 18 August we were

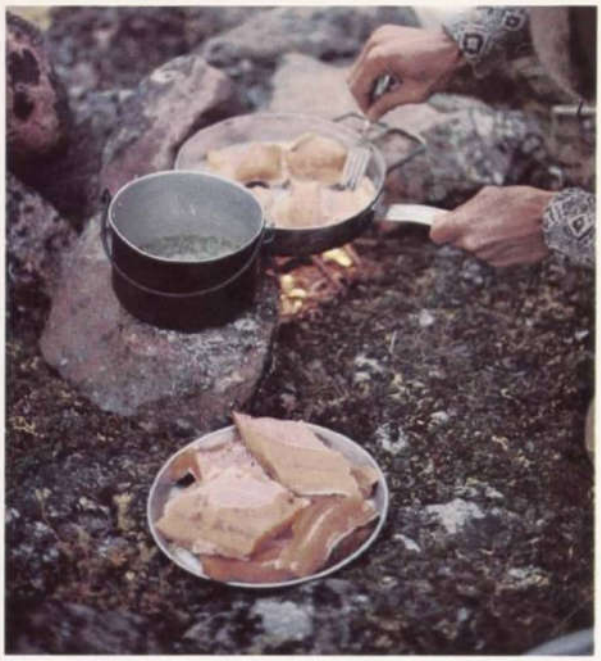


again blocked by ice. At this point we were well behind schedule and decided that it would be unwise to make a reckless attempt to reach Clyde through unknown country. Neither would there be time to explore the broad Koukdjuak River that flows through the plain, emptying into Foxe Basin.

We turned south on Nettilling Lake and near Tikiraq Bay we discovered two houses made of limestone slabs and earth. Each was about three feet high and nine feet in diameter, with a raised portion near the back. The beach in front of the houses was literally covered with ivory-yellow shards of bone. Across from the camp was an island where there were three graves. We peered into the open end of one and met the defiant angry eyes of a female merganser which had chosen this site as a suitably comfortable spot to hatch her nine eggs.

Boas had written that 'the Talirpingmiut had three or four settlements on Lake Nettilling . . . As the lake abounds with seals, they could live there at all seasons. Its western part seems to have been particularly fitted for winter stations.'

The regular use of these settlements or wintering stations had already begun to wane at the time Boas was exploring the island. He noted that three families spent the winter of 1877-78 near Koukdjuak but that this was



Arctic char.

Tundra casserole.

BRUCE KOCI

Ruins of an ancient stone house, Tikiraq Bay, Nettilling Lake.

the last instance of which he had any knowledge. He believed that 'the greater portion of the tribe may have retreated to Nettilling Fjord about twenty years ago.'

Apparently the latest group to stay on the lake was in 1937. T.H. Manning reported in his *Foxe Basin Coast of Baffin Island* published in 1943: 'A party of Eskimos from Cape Dorset spent the winter of 1937-38 at the south end of Nettilling Lake, but during the following winter a shortage of game forced them to move to Cumberland Sound.'

Geese were present in the area but did not seem as numerous as reports had indicated. We saw scattered flocks of ten to fifteen individuals infrequently – mainly snow geese with occasional blue geese. Waders and shore birds were more widespread. As we crossed the lake, a number of puzzled ring seals followed us for some distance before disappearing into the depths.

We had now been travelling in the Barrens for three weeks and the vast open expanse of barren rock, clear air, and crystal water seemed a world that was both ancient and new-born. The sun, visible for twenty hours a day at a low angle, cast long circling shadows and played tricks with the eye, producing mirages. The animals were unafraid, probably never having seen man before. As far as we knew we were the only people within a hundred-mile radius; the only trace of civilization was the occasional trail of a high jet across the sky.

On 19 August we reached the mouth of the Amadjuak River and camped on the lee side of an esker. This proved fortunate for the evening brought gale winds that must have approached fifty to sixty miles an hour. We tied down the canoe and tents, and the following day explored the area, discovering the largest Eskimo site we had seen thus far. Nearly a hundred food caches covered a hillside; numerous tent rings and several stone houses, quite different from those we had seen previously, remained as evidence of an earlier occupation. Dr Soper had recorded the existence of this site in *A*

Faunal Investigation of South Baffin Island, published in 1928.

On top of the ridge near camp were found old remains of stone igloos and meat caches. The Eskimo assistants declared that these were built and occupied by the ancient Tunit, a legendary race of very thickset, strong men who occupied Baffin in the long ago. The foundations of these dwellings are built of large boulders to a height of 2 feet or more. Parts of the walls had fallen in but in one or two instances the doorways with their heavy rock lintels were well preserved. The exact nature of the interior was indeterminable owing to the accumulated humus and mat of vegetation. The foundation rocks were black with lichens. Undoubtedly they are of great age.

The Amadjuak River was much larger than we expected and dropped 280 feet in fifty miles, much of it over long boulder-laden rapids. Portages were heavy difficult work along shores covered with large boulders; we advanced only six miles in ten hours. In an attempt to speed our progress we made a detour through a number of lakes that would take us back to the river ten

Ptarmigan.

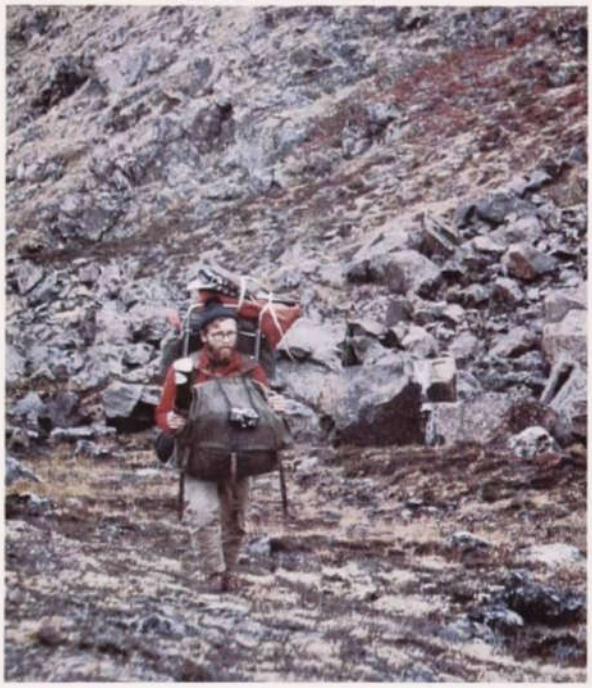
Caribou on the Great Plain of the Amadjuak.

A 'village' of stone houses and caches at the mouth of the Amadjuak River.

BRUCE KOCI

Amadjuak Lake.

Dave Buetow, portaging near Frobisher Bay.



miles upstream. This proved to be a mistake. Our maps had been made during high water and since present water levels were low, the outline of the lakes was completely changed. In several instances, narrows were quarter-mile portages over heavy ground morains. We were surprised to find that a number of the portages had markers; we had thought we were off the main route going upstream. Aside from snow buntings, this was one of the starkest areas we saw.

Back on the Amadjuak, travel was easier. The rapids became short drops interspersed with areas of calm water. A large rapids near Koukaluk Lake forced a mile-long carry and terminated in a ten to fifteen foot drop. Here we caught numerous iridescent orange char, several of twelve pounds or more. Previously all char caught had been silver with a faint trace of orange.

At Amadjuak Lake, 27 August, the weather was clear and the water free of ice. On the eastern shore, a low plain was narrowly visible as we skirted the outermost islands and shoals. In the west flawless sky blended into mirror water in a scene of unreal perfection. We set a mile-eating pace and crossed the Amadjuak in three days. The only signs of life were the terns, gulls, loons, and several deer.

On 31 August we reached the mouth of a small river which began near Sylvia Grinnell Lake. From the top of the large eroded hills that rose 300 to 400 feet, we could see the distant mountains near Frobisher Bay. The Barrens looked eerie – an expanse of light tan ground marked only by small circular patches of vegetation. At the first rapids we saw old food caches and tent rings probably left by the Nugumiut people of Frobisher. We were now one-trip portaging, proceeding with maximum efficiency and few words. The tundra was changing to red and yellow and fall was in the air. There was frost nearly every night, and darkness fell around 9.00 p.m. Northern lights glimmered in the sky to the south. Several caribou were seen but little else.

We crossed the height of land over a long portage to Sylvia Grinnell Lake on 5 September. Here we remained, weather-bound by strong winds laced with heavy rain and snow. After four days the storm subsided and we left at dawn, paddling into an awesome sunrise of orange and purple light. Several caribou moved along the bank, their whitening antlers a lacework against the vivid colour. The river was easy to travel. Water levels were up with melt streams from the hills. The wet rocks reflected the sun like mirrors. On September 11, the river dropped precipitously, rapids at every bend. We climbed a nearby hill, saw that the river was continuous rapids to the sea, and decided to portage the final seven miles into Frobisher Bay.

We had become used to thinking of Frobisher in the abstract. Now before us, it seemed unreal, like a postage stamp pasted in a corner of a vast scene. We entered it with mixed feelings, leaving behind the silence and solitude of a truly rare wilderness. ◆

The Métis and Canadien Councillors of Assiniboia

BY LIONEL DORGE

The Council of Assiniboia was the governing body in the Red River Settlement from 1835 until the government of Canada assumed jurisdiction over Rupert's Land in 1870. In PART I, Summer 1974, Mr Dorge wrote of the hesitant naming of the first Métis and Canadien councillors by the Hudson's Bay Company. Events had indicated that the presence of spokesmen from the French-speaking people (who constituted a major part of the population) would be likely to contribute to the maintenance of peace and order. In the first 20 years, the clergy in the persons of Bishop Norbert Provencher and Abbé Louis-François Laflèche dominated French-speaking representation on the Council.

Photographs are published with kind permission of La Societé historique de Saint-Boniface and the Manitoba Archives.

Part II

THE METIS YEARS

WITH THE DEPARTURE of Councillor Louis-François Laflèche in June 1856, François Bruneau remained the only member of the Métis and Canadien community to sit on the Council of Assiniboia. Whether it was the result of this minority position, because he felt a need to see how the situation would develop, or simply illness, Bruneau did not attend the first meeting of the Council held after Laflèche's departure. It met on 25 June 1857, thirteen months after the previous meeting. Such a lapse of time between meetings was not to happen again.

The departure of Laflèche can hardly be held responsible for this period of inactivity. Nor can it be explained by the state of affairs in the colony which would have seemed to warrant close attention. In the spring of 1856 a public meeting had been held in regard to the collection of duty on imports from the United States. At this meeting the Company was called an usurper 'tyrannically claiming rights and powers' adverse to the interests of the Métis. The following spring a petition was circulated requesting that the colony be annexed to Canada, and a year later another petition asked that a Crown colony be established.

In January 1857 Sir George Simpson, Governor of Rupert's Land, had expressed concern over administering, without an efficient force, a colony whose population was made up of so many varied elements. Of 1,082 families, 816 were of mixed blood, 169 were from the British Isles, and 92 from Canada. Half were of the Roman Catholic faith. Simpson credited the clergy with great influence and it is not surprising that he expressed regret at Laflèche's departure. Laflèche, he wrote, was 'a very amiable worthy genlman [sic] . . . who was popular with the Protestants and very much beloved by his own people; but I regret to say he took his departure hence for Canada'.

By January 1858 Simpson appeared to consider that the 'political excitement lately prevailing at Red River' had subsided. His judgment was justified to some degree when, the following June, a petition in French was circulated, expressing opposition to the annexation of Assiniboia by Canada without guarantees for the inhabitants. Nevertheless he had been sufficiently shaken to ask for views concerning the introduction of the elective principle into the government. Opinions were that the clergy among others 'do not wish that the present Councillors should be removed, but that the public should have the right of filling up vacancies by election'.

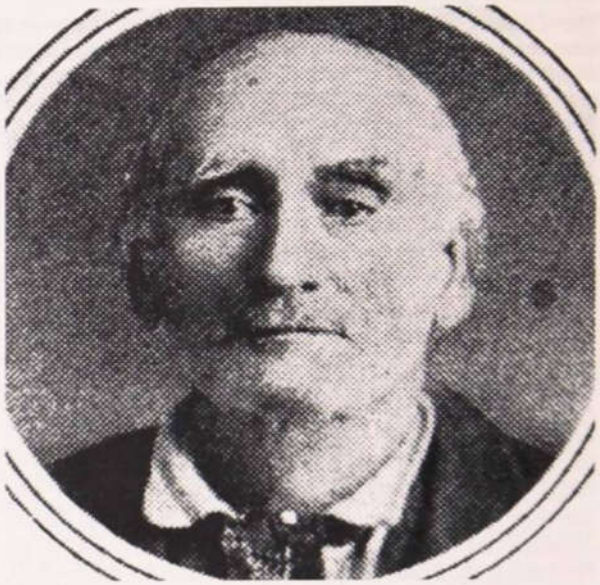
When the Council resumed its meetings in June 1857, only one of the members was from the French-speaking community – a man named Henry Fisher. Fisher was a former Chief Trader but his name had never been mentioned as a candidate for the Council. Simpson did not seem to have held him in high regard. 'A Canadian' he wrote in 1839 'an active man who has been long among the plains Indians of the Saskatchewaine by whom he is liked. Speaks Cree and is a good trader, but deficient in education, speaks English very imperfectly, is rather flighty and unsteady'.

Fisher, a native of Prairie-du-Chien, was the son of an agent of the American Fur Company and Marienne Lasalière, great-granddaughter of an Ottawa chief. He had served in the war of 1812 with his father, on the British side, and in 1816 had joined the North West Company. On the union of the companies in 1821, he entered the service of the H B C, was put in charge of Fort Ellice in 1844, and promoted to Chief Trader in charge of the Red River District in 1851. In 1853 he was transferred to the English River District where he met and began a life-long friendship with Bishop Alexandre Taché.

Fisher retired from the Company in 1855 and two years later attended his first Council meeting. Tall and thin, he had several wives, contrary to the advice of his uncle, Chief Trader Alexander Fisher, who had cautioned him as early as 1835: 'You will be increasing your family with your new wife and in three years have a couple more to add to the four already which will make you a large family, you ought to think of those things in time . . . if you can dispense with her, I think you would do as well if not better for I suppose you are now supporting two wives – a man soon gets himself into misery if he does not look sharp.'

Councillor Pascal Breland.

Councillor Salomon Hamelin.



As a councillor of Assiniboia, Fisher attended forty out of sixty-six meetings. His first, on 25 June 1857, was taken up with a report submitted by the Board of Works. It received unanimous approval and a further grant of £350 for the current year.

At the following meeting, 19 September, François Bruneau re-occupied his seat, and three new members, all from the French-speaking population were sworn in. From the Métis section came Pascal Breland and Salomon Hamelin, and from the Canadien, Maximilien Genthon dit Dauphiné. They were all known to the Council, having served in various capacities in previous years. Of those first recommended by Bishop Provencher, only Narcisse Marion was never to be a councillor.*

Pascal Breland was the descendant of Pierre (or Burleigh the Freeman, as Simpson called him) who had served as a soldier in Canada and had been active in the fur trade in the 1800s. 'Poor Burleigh' Simpson wrote, October 1824 'was some twenty years ago one of the most active enterprising Canadians of his standing in the country, a first rate hunter and possessing a strength and acuteness of mind rarely to be met with in his walk of life; he had amassed a fortune of about £7,000 and returned to Canada, but so enchanted was he with the roving life of a Freeman and the charms of some half dozen wives (natives of the soil) that he could not sit down quietly at home to enjoy his good fortune but must revisit the Indian country since which time he has met nothing but reverses'. Pascal was born to Pierre and his Métis wife, Louise Belley, on the Saskatchewan, but he spent most of his life at Red River, more precisely at St-François-Xavier. He married Maria, daughter of Councillor Cuthbert Grant, and seems to have become, at the death of the latter, the heir to his influence among the Métis. In 1870 he became a member of the first Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Lieutenant-Governor Adams Archibald wrote, in recommending him as councillor of the Northwest Territories 'a man of means and influence, highly upright in character, and altogether is a fine specimen of his race.'

Salomon Hamelin, the second new Métis councillor, had been born at Red River where his father, giving testimony under oath in 1817, claimed to have settled in 1792. His wife was Isabelle Vandale, daughter of a voyageur and a Saulteux woman named Marguerite. One son, Firmin, married Clemence, daughter of Councillor Pascal Breland; another son, Joseph, was the Conservative member of the Legislative Assembly for Ste-Rose-du-Lac for thirteen years. Hamelin was called to sit as a member of the Legislative Council of Manitoba by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald in 1871, who described him as 'a small trader of not much means. His conduct last winter was irreproachable [in the winter of 1869-70 both Hamelin and Breland were at Qu'Appelle

* On page 13, Summer 1974, it was stated in error that Narcisse Marion was sworn in as a councillor. This name should have read Pascal Breland.

where, in the spring of 1870, they prevailed upon the winterers not to join the Riel insurrection at Red River] and his nomination will be acceptable to the Loyal French. He is a man of some intelligence. Next to Paschal [sic] Breland, who has a seat in the Legislative Assembly, he is probably the best representative of his class of opinion to be found here.'

At his first Council meeting Hamelin seconded Bruneau's motion to pay ten shillings to the captor of any stallion whose owner allowed it to roam; the owner was to be fined one pound. At the same meeting Breland moved two resolutions: one to renew the bounty on the heads of wolves killed within twenty miles of the settlement, and the other was to change the date of sitting for the Petty Court of White Horse Plain.

Maximilien Genthon, the Canadien councillor also attending for the first time, is mentioned only as being present. He had arrived in Red River in 1821 from Lanoraie, Quebec, and had married Marie-Louise, daughter of Martin Jérome and an Indian woman. His daughter Marguerite married Councillor William Dease; his grandson Frédéric Genthon, an employee of the H B C, became fiddling champion of Western Canada in the 1930s.

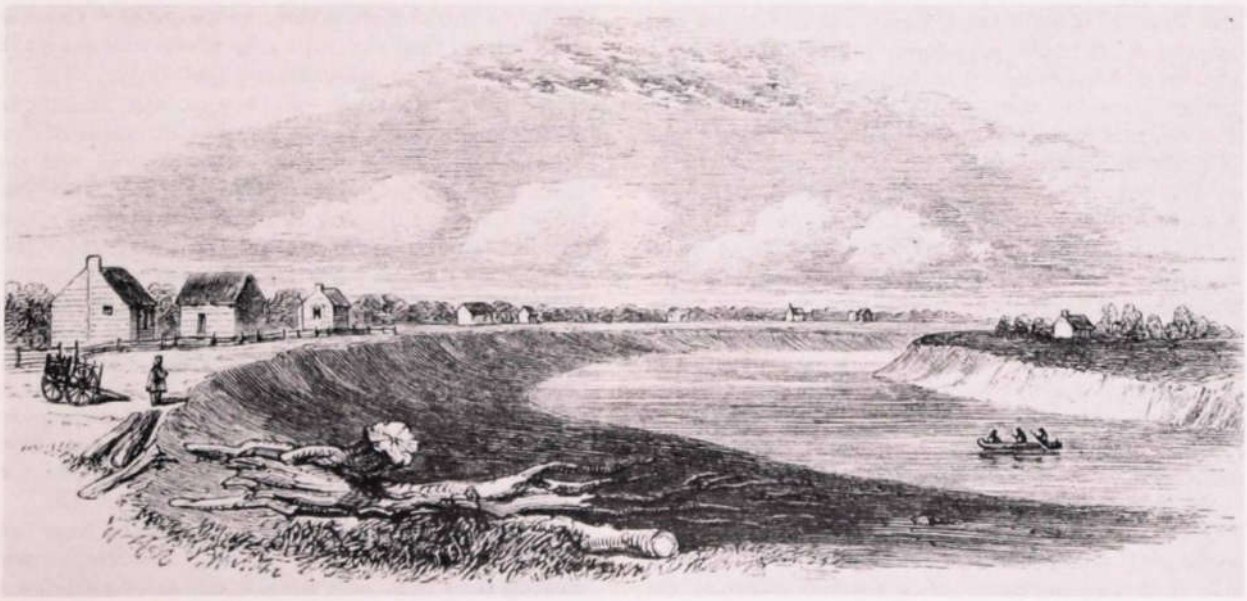
In June 1858, Bishop Alexandre Taché was sworn in as councillor bringing to two, the members representing the Canadien segment of the French-speaking population of Assiniboia. Taché, at his first three meetings, clearly revealed his interest in the economics of administering the colony. At the first meeting, he seconded one motion to pass the public accounts as audited, and another to raise the salary of the Council's secretary to £100 a year. At the next meeting, when a report on the construction of roads and bridges submitted by the Board of Works took up much time, Taché seconded the motion to table the report and to authorize a further grant to the Board so that it would not be hindered in improving land communications. François Bruneau seconded a resolution appointing as Petty Magistrate, a Métis, William Dease. Dease refused the appointment because the salary of £5 seemed 'inadequate'. The Council meeting of 10 March 1859 took note of this; then Taché moved, seconded by Fisher that a salary of £10 be offered to Dease. François Bruneau then submitted a revised law regarding fines on the owner who allowed his pigs to go unyoked, but this was referred to the next sitting.

For the balance of the meeting, the councillors dwelt on several petitions. The first bearing 88 signatures urged the Council to counteract the effect of a 20% duty imposed on horn cattle, horses, flour, Indian corn, and other produce of the Red River Settlement when entering the United States. It read in part as follows:

> . . . if the Government of the United States feels itself bound, in duty, to protect, by the imposition of such high tariff of duty, the agricultural interests of its citizens, how much more does our agricultural interests, the only material interest of this Colony, require protection – especially when we consider the many great advantages which the American agriculturists possess . . . the low price which they pay for land . . . a warmer climate . . . the facility and cheapness with which they can procure all kinds of agricultural implements . . . and lastly, in the activity and energy exhibited by the national Government to open up the ways of commerce.

Taché seconded the motion that the petition be tabled – as well he should have for two-thirds of the signatures came from the Upper [French-speaking] sector of the settlement. This was surprising in view of the fact that it is generally believed that the Métis

Henry Youle Hind's sketch of the farm of Pierre Gladu, brother-in-law to Councillor John and William Dease. Hind spent the night of 29 September 1857 at the farm where he was 'provided with an excellent supper . . . an almost sumptuous breakfast' at no charge, for such was the tradition of the country.



Councillor Alexandre Taché, 1863.

showed little interest in the produce of the farms. (Métis councillors, Fisher, Breland, Bruneau, and Hamelin all owned horses, cattle and oxen and grew wheat and potatoes). On the other hand, Bishop Taché was considered even at this time one of the most important farmers in Rupert's Land. In order to protect his agricultural interests, he may have arranged for the widest possible circulation of the petition among his people.

At the same meeting no less than four petitions, one of them in French, were submitted concerning the import of spirituous liquors from the United States. In the absence of regulations, cheap and bad liquor was allowed in and sold at the risk of poisoning unwary customers. The petitioners requested that the councillors devise means to control, not only the traffic and sale, but also the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. Taché moved that a committee be set up to draft liquor laws.

The next petition, submitted by Pascal Breland in both English and French – the latter bearing 120 names – asked that the use of the small amount of wood growing along the Assiniboine be limited to the people living there. The final petition, signed by Surveyor Roger Goulet, complained of the difference in lines of certain lots along the Red River. The Council referred this to the agents of the Company at Fort Garry and the meeting was adjourned.

Bishop Taché, as head of the Diocese of St-Boniface since 1853, had been quick to show the extent of his administrative talents. As early as 1851, Simpson had expressed confidence in the young (28) bishop's judgment and discretion. He was eventually to become known among members of a Quebec group as the 'millionaire missionary bishop'. Although he was never to become a millionaire, he managed efficiently the limited resources at his disposal.

Taché's family background could well have contributed to his competence. His father had made several attempts to establish himself in business – a field in which the Taché family had been active before coming to Canada in the early 1730s. He had not met with success and fell back on land, becoming the manager of a seigneurie, to feed a growing family. When he died he left his wife with five children, the oldest of whom was not six years old. His widow never remarried and had to work diligently to rear and educate the three boys who survived; in time one became a doctor, another a notary, and the youngest a priest. Taché's support of the financial resolutions in Council was an expression of his background and talents, both of which no doubt contributed to his rapid advancement in the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church. For all his financial acumen, Taché did not forget that he belonged to the clergy and his financial decisions were not made to the detriment of the spiritual well-being of his flock. At the 48 meetings he attended, he formulated policies for the social and moral welfare of the Colony.

In the lengthy discussions concerning the control of the sale and quality of intoxicating liquors that almost monopolized the meetings of 1859, Taché was in the forefront. At the meeting of 26 May, the committee on liquor submitted its report, but Council did not choose for the moment to implement any of its recommendations.

There were other matters to discuss. These included the search for a man who had disappeared to Lower Canada six years earlier, the use of timber on the banks of the Assiniboine (to be restricted to inhabitants and 'also for any public works'), and unyoked pigs, which brought a fine of three shillings to the owner if 'found in any enclosed field without a yoke of one foot and a half wide, and one foot and a half in height'.

At the last meeting of 1859, it was decided to disband the existing Board of Works in favour of four local boards. Taché seconded this motion, and the motion to approve the accounts for 1858. Then just before Council adjourned, he presented a petition asking that a grant be made to the Red River Steam Mill Company for a new boiler; the company would have to suspend its operations without it. Yet when the motion to make a grant of £100 to the company was proposed, Taché voted against it, along with the other French-speaking councillors. Recorded votes had been scarce in the past, but in the next few years they became more usual, and tended to show how precarious was support based on religious-linguistic lines. More often than not, the French-speaking councillors were at odds.

Since the motion for a grant to the Red River mill was not carried unanimously, it was deferred to the next meeting for a final vote, when it was definitely refused.

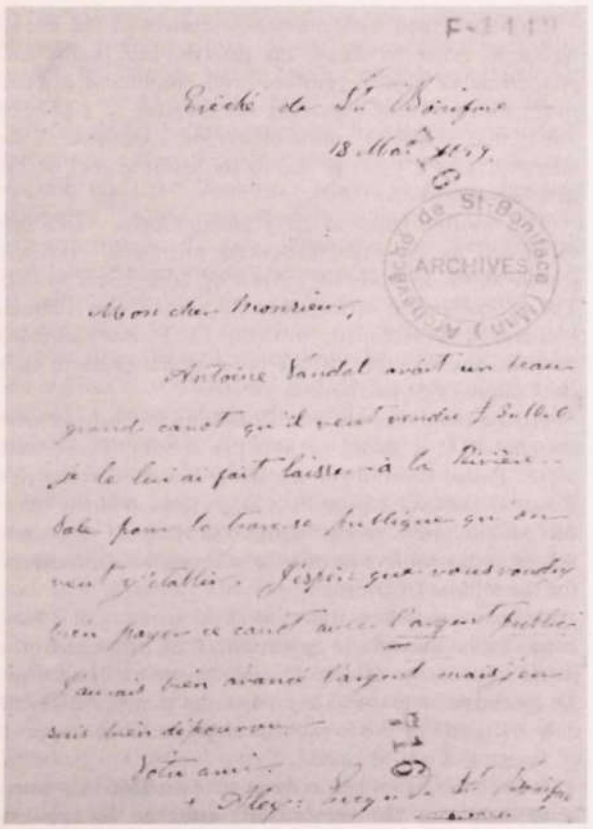
The minutes of neither meeting suggest why the French-speaking members had formed a united front against the request. If they had been concerned about setting a precedent, they were right in their refusal, for at the meeting of 27 February another mill owner asked to be subsidized from public funds. It is doubtful that their decision was popular, and it may have been to explain publicly their position on this and future motions that Taché, seconded by Fisher, moved 'that the Editors of the Nor'Wester be authorized to assist at the deliberations of the Council of Assiniboia.' Of the French-speaking councillors, only Pascal Breland voted in favour. The others voted for the amendment which stated that 'it is not expedient to permit any strangers to be present at the deliberations of the Council of Assiniboia.'

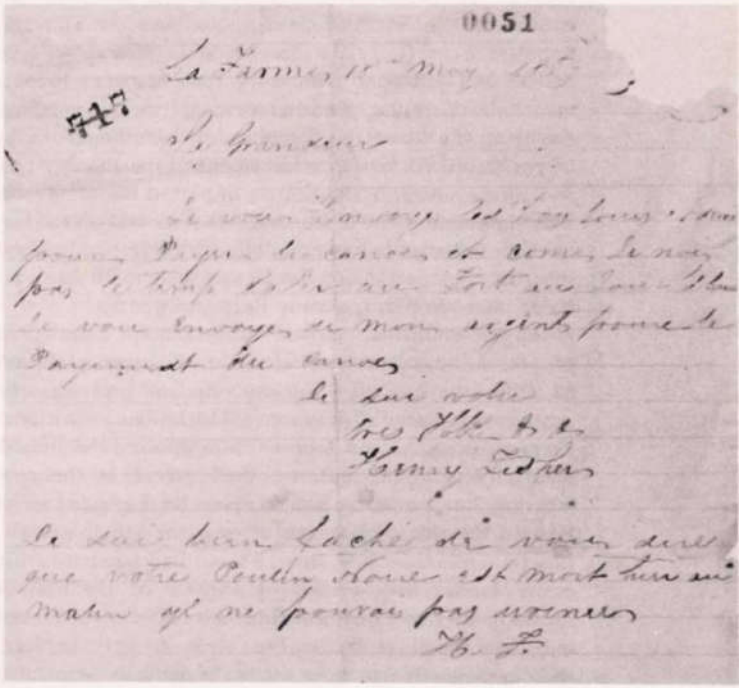
At the same lengthy meeting, 27 February 1860, Council considered two petitions. The first, in French from St-François-Xavier, asked that Pascal Breland replace François Bruneau as President of the White Horse Plain District Court. It was felt that Bruneau, a resident of St Boniface, lived too far away, while Breland lived at St-François-Xavier. Council deferred action upon this petition until the end of the judicial year.

The second petition, also from inhabitants along the Assiniboine, requested that the bridge crossing Sturgeon Creek be rebuilt at its original location. The complaint was that whenever a road or a bridge needed repair that a new road or bridge would be built beside it, often encroaching on occupied land, and 'no man had a right to come in our Barn-Yard, and take a part of our crop . . . as it is against all British laws and British equity.'

When the subject of land and its ownership came up in Council it never failed to attract the attention of both Bishop Provencher and Bishop Taché – the sons of the land-conscious inhabitants along the St. Lawrence. A law on the books already prevented sale of land without due publicity. At a meeting in February 1860, Taché moved another resolution to clarify the existing laws. In future, it was decided, when a piece of land outside the surveyed part of the colony was occupied 'the Magistrates be authorized to take for the principle that 12 chains shall be the limit of pre-emption right arising from occupation'. The meeting adjourned after Breland proposed an increase in the premium paid for the heads of wolves killed in the settlement.

Bishop Taché once again tried to have the Council arrive at a policy on liquor at the meeting of 4 September. His motion to levy a duty of three shillings per gallon on all imported wines and liquor and his motion to revise the Licence Law to include the sale of beer and





Letters exchanged between Councillors Taché and Fisher concerning the purchase of a canoe for the Rivière Sale crossing. Fisher, in a postscript, advises Taché that the latter's black pony had died that morning: 'il ne pouvait pas uriner.'
These documents are from the Fisher-d'Eschambault papers of the Archives de l'Archevêché de Saint-Boniface and are published with permission of his Grace Archbishop Antonie Hacault.

William Dease who married the daughter of Councillor Maximilien Genthon. He was appointed Collector of Customs (1861) and Councillor (1868).

LE MUSÉE DE SAINT-BONIFACE

Surveyor Roger Goulet, appointed Collector of Customs (1861) and Councillor (1865).

wine, went seemingly unnoticed. But at the meeting of 5 March 1861, his insistence was rewarded. At that session no less than four petitions were presented, each requesting more stringent regulations governing the sale of spirits. One petition bearing 44 names, asked for the closure of an establishment at St-Boniface, directly opposite Fort Garry, 'a place of resort for drunkards, loafers and gamblers' owned by Jean Mager, a Frenchman from Lorraine. Another petition, in two versions, one from the Lower Settlement and the other from the Upper, asked for better enforcement of the Licence Law and more substantial duties on imported liquor. Taché, after the petition had been considered, moved that a duty of five shillings be 'imposed upon all fermented and spirituous liquor imported into this Settlement from the United Kingdom or from any Foreign Country.'

An amendment, moved immediately afterwards, proposed the exemption from duty of spirits imported from the United Kingdom. Breland and Hamelin supported Taché's motion; Maximilien Genthon, François Bruneau, and John Dease supported the amendment. The motion suffered final defeat at the next meeting, but the resolution to revise the Licence Law to include the sale of beer and wine carried unanimously.

The new councillor, John Dease, had been sworn in on 5 March 1861, bringing the ranks of the French-speaking to two Canadiens and five Métis. He attended only four meetings, leaving Fort Garry to settle in North Dakota probably in 1863.

Still concerned with improving control of the sale of liquor in order to check 'the growing immorality and pauperism of this heretofore well conducted population', Bishop Taché moved at the meeting of 14 March 1861, that a special police officer be appointed at the salary of £30 a year, to see to the enforcement of the new liquor laws.

This motion failed to carry unanimously – although supported by the French-speaking members – but was passed at the meeting of 9 April by eight votes to one. The special police officer then appointed was Nicholas Mouard, a Frenchman, probably a former teaching brother, and member of the order which came to staff the Collège de St-Boniface in 1854.

At the same meeting four Collectors of Customs were nominated at a salary of £40 per annum. Three were Métis: Pascal Breland for the White Horse Plain District, Roger Goulet for Upper Fort Garry, and William Dease for St-Adolphe. At the earlier meeting of 5 March, Salomon Hamelin had been confirmed as a magistrate for the Middle District.

Other nominations followed at the meeting of 8 June 1861. Taché moved the appointment of Bruneau to the presidency of the Middle District Court at £16 a year. An amendment immediately proposed that the salary be only £12, but all the French-speaking members supported the motion and it passed.

It need hardly be pointed out that the Métis members benefited from the emoluments attached to appoint-

ments falling within Council's jurisdiction. And in the forefront of such appointments was Bishop Taché, who not occasionally expressed the opinion that the Métis had been 'short-changed'. Since the population of the colony was largely Métis, it seems logical that public servants should be chosen from this group. The performance of duties attached to the appointments was also a sure way to gain experience in civil affairs.

More questionable, surely, was the number of appointments going to the councillors themselves, or to their immediate family. The argument that the choice of eligible candidates in the population was limited remains to be proved. At one point, the French-speaking members themselves became aware of what must have been obvious: when Bruneau left his post as magistrate of the Middle District Court to become its president, he moved the nomination of Henry McKenney as his successor. McKenney resigned upon nomination, and A.G.B. Bannatyne received the appointment. This largesse (if such it were, for the population of the Middle District was becoming less French-speaking) did not carry over into the White Horse Plain District where the post of magistrate went to Breland, the holder of many other positions. Also, the nomination of a constable (at£12 a year) for the Middle District had been proposed by Salomon Hamelin. The motion passed, though not unanimously and Benjamin Nault, son-in-law of Hamelin, received the appointment.

The plight of Paulet Chartrand was subject of three petitions bearing a total of 465 names (113 were forwarded by Charles Mestre, pastor of St-Norbert) at the meeting of 13 March 1862. Chartrand, son of a Canadien and a Saulteux woman, had the physique and strength of a Hercules. He earned his living manufacturing salt on Lake Winnipeg, where, one day, he was aggravated beyond endurance by a passer-by. He struck his tormentor in the side. When the man died a short time later, Chartrand was brought to trial. He admitted his guilt, but stressed the extenuating circumstances, and was sentenced to ten months in the common gaol where he had then served three months. The petitioners pointed out that Chartrand had shown repentance, that he had a large dependent family, and that he was gradually losing his mind in confinement. The councillors reduced his sentence to six months.

Before this meeting adjourned the Council named a committee of three to codify the laws of Assiniboia. The report on this work was submitted and discussed at the next two sessions. The law code was passed and, although discussions of it were not recorded, it is evident from the code itself that most of the councillors were confirmed in their posts. François Bruneau and Patrice Breland were named as two of four superintendents of public works at £25 and £20 respectively. The salaries of Collectors of Customs were cut from £40 to £20 a year in the case of William Dease and Pascal Breland, and to £35 in the case of Roger Goulet. (Could this have been

Isabelle Hamelin, daughter of Councillor Salomon Hamelin, and her husband Benjamin Nault, appointed constable at £12 a year.

because a settler had offered to perform the duties of both Dease and Goulet for £40?) Bruneau remained President of both the Petty Court of the White Horse Plain (£12) and the Petty Court of the Upper District at £16. Pascal Breland and Pierre Falcon were named magistrates of the former court at £5 a year, and William Dease (£10) and Salomon Hamelin (£5) were named magistrates of the Upper District.

The question of appointment loomed large in the minutes of meetings during these years. At the same time, Council seemed hesitant if not unable, to deal with the real issues facing the Colony and found refuge in administration.

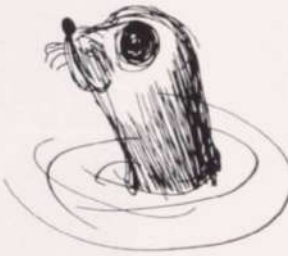
The process of establishing a Council that was more representative of the population had evolved slowly over a period of almost ten years. The Company had been slow – perhaps prudent – in recognizing the group that contributed most to its prosperity. In the ensuing years the Métis councillors themselves took on the role of slow, prudent and wise administrators. Comfortable in their chairs of state they saw little need for change. While they could not always skirt the important problems of the day, they not occasionally, and unfortunately, managed to postpone their solution.

Council had no power to implement its decisions (it had to depend on the good will of the inhabitants) and no authority to change its system of government. There was little left for the councillors, French-speaking or otherwise, to do but to administer the Colony as efficiently as possible and to await developments. ◆

At Bathurst Inlet, a young girl and the rear, side and front views of a small child.

ARCTIC SKETCHES

These sketches by JAMES HOUSTON, artist and author of 'The White Dawn' were done in the 1950s, during his early years among the Eskimo people of Arctic Canada.



Canada's First Military Aeroplane

By Frank H. Ellis

This account by Mr Ellis, author, historian, and aviation pioneer, is based on personal interviews with Clifford Webster (now residing in Florida) and Henry Farr.

WHEN GREAT BRITAIN DECLARED WAR on Germany on 4 August 1914, Colonel Sam Hughes was Canada's Minister of Militia and Defence. The massive responsibility for assembling and activating the First Canadian Overseas Expeditionary Force fell squarely on his shoulders.

Burdened by a multitude of decisions, he gave quick attention to a suggestion made by a Mr Ernest L. Janney of Galt, Ontario who proposed the formation of a Canadian Aviation Corps. Hughes glanced briefly at the plan, gave it his approval and appointed the surprised Janney Captain and Provincial Commander of the new Corps.

To start things off, Janney was allotted $5,000 with which to purchase a suitable aeroplane. He was to have it delivered to the Valcartier Military Camp north of Quebec City in time to have it included with a vast amount of other material scheduled to be shipped overseas with the First Canadian Expeditionary Force. The deadline for departure of the shipment from Quebec City was the first week in October.

A strange feature of Janney's appointment was his inability to fly an aeroplane; indeed he knew practically nothing about them. He soon learned however that aeroplanes available for purchase were non-existent in Canada. He turned to the United States and found that conditions there were only slightly better. He sent telegrams off to possible sources and as he awaited replies, time passed all too quickly.

Captain Ernest L. Janney, Provincial Commander of the Canadian Aviation Corps established in 1914.

J.C. MALONE

Finally Janney learned that the Burgess-Dunne Aeroplane Company of Marblehead, Massachusetts, had a second-hand, two-seater aeroplane for sale. The only one available for immediate delivery, it had been built the previous March and a strange-looking craft it was. A tailless model with sweep-back, biplane wings, it was powered by a 100-horsepower, eight-cylinder, V-type Curtiss engine. The engine drove a pusher propeller at the rear of the open-air centre framework. The seats were perched well to the forefront of the frame. Its top speed in calm air was 60 miles per hour.

The price asked for this plane coincided exactly with the amount of the government cheque. Without further ado, and without checking the craft's condition, Captain Janney made the deal, happy to have procured any aeroplane at all.

When he arrived in Marblehead to take possession of the plane the problem arose of getting it across the international boundary to Valcartier. It was believed that to fly the craft all the way might conflict with the neutrality law; the United States was not then at war with Germany. To circumvent such a possibility, it was decided to send the plane by rail to a point on the border, to rig it there and fly it the rest of the way. A small town on the Vermont-Quebec border, East Alburg, was chosen as the 'jumping-off' point to Valcartier.

As Captain Janney was unable to fly a plane, the Burgess-Dunne Aeroplane Company offered to supply their test pilot, Clifford Webster, for the journey from East Alburg to Valcartier.

As soon as the plane reached its destination at the northern end of Lake Champlain, the mechanics who had come with it to rig it for flight, began their work. By 21 September the plane was ready for the take-off; the time remaining was adequate, Janney believed, for them to reach Valcartier and prepare for the voyage in early October.

Webster took the plane up to 1,000 feet and headed north, bucking a strong wind. In one hour and fifty

minutes they had made 80 miles to the confluence of the Richelieu and St Lawrence Rivers. At this point the fuel was running low – the tank held only ten American gallons – and the pilot brought the plane down on the St Lawrence, off shore to the small village of Sorel, Quebec.

There Janney and Webster were interested to see that a crowd was gathering on the shore. They assumed that the news of their historic flight had spread and that they were to be welcomed by the people of the town.

As they tied up at the wharf, however, they sensed that their reception was to be a hostile one. The Chief of Police was the first to speak; his words were 'You're under arrest'. He ordered Captain Janney to hand over the pistol that he was carrying and with the jeering crowd following behind, he marched the two men off to the local police station about a block away.

The airmen went along with what they thought was 'a heck of a joke' until they were inside the building. Then Janney demanded an explanation. The Chief of Police retorted that he had 'got wind you two fellows were flying this way' and that 'the report is you are on your way to bomb the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa for German sympathizers in the States.' Why else, he asked, would they be flying across the international border?

The airmen shouted with laughter at the unexpected charge. Captain Janney explained the situation, adding for good measure that 'Maybe with luck, we'll get to bomb Berlin, but surely not Ottawa.'

The officials at Sorel made a telephone call to military headquarters in Ottawa, and finally Janney's statement was confirmed. The men were released without an apology, allowed to fill up their fuel tank and take off.

With undoubted relief they left Sorel behind, but after forty-five minutes in the air on their flight down the St Lawrence, the engine began to vibrate. Webster put the craft down to a good landing on the water to check out the problem. His examination indicated trouble with the bearings. He explained this to Janney and suggested that they taxi to shore at the nearest settlement, so that he could make repairs.

Understandably the newly appointed Captain was anxious to make a good impression at Ottawa by bringing the aircraft into Valcartier the same day. Knowing little of engines and their operation he vetoed the idea. 'No, we must carry on' he said.

Much against Webster's better judgment, they set off again. With the motor running rough and the aircraft vibrating from end to end, it was all the pilot could do

The Burgess-Dunne seaplane on the company ramp in Marblehead prior to its purchase by the Canadian Government.

to induce the craft to take to the air. As he swung the seaplane in a half turn to get on course downstream, the lower wing of the banking machine skimmed the surface of the river. Then suddenly, as metal seized against metal, the engine uttered a banshee scream and stopped. So did the vibrations – but it was only a matter of moments before the craft was back on the water, this time a crippled and powerless derelict, at the complete mercy of the wind and waves.

If words passed between the men as they drifted with the current, no record of them remains.

In the meantime, the inhabitants of Deschaillons, a small village on the south bank of the river, had been watching the proceedings. Realizing there was trouble, several of them set out in small boats and eventually came alongside the stranded seaplane. Soon they had it in tow, en route to the fishing village. There a willing crowd of husky woodsmen and fishermen hauled the Burgess-Dunne up on the shingle beach. In the process, two large holes were opened in the pontoon.

C. WEBSTER

Clifford Webster, who piloted the aeroplane from the United States border to Quebec City.

Captain Janney telephoned Ottawa to tell his superiors of the misfortune; Webster likewise notified his company at Marblehead, requesting that spare parts and mechanics be sent to Deschaillons as soon as possible. The plane had a faulty oil pump, which had resulted in a drop in oil pressure. The damage to the engine was two seized-up cylinders and several burnt-out bearings. Four days elapsed before the mechanics and the parts arrived. By the time repairs were made and the plane was ready to continue its journey, their margin of time to the sailing deadline had shrunk to an alarming degree.

On 28 September Webster and Janney took off again, with the motor in good condition and large sheet-copper patches nailed in place over the holes in the pontoon. But, as the pilot taxied out from shore for a take-off, he realized that the craft was acting in a very sluggish manner. Glancing down at the pontoon, he saw to his dismay that it was low in the water – almost awash. Realizing at once that it had sprung a serious leak, he turned back, headed for the beach they had just left and arrived just in time to save the craft from sinking. One of the copper patches had been almost torn away when the launching was made. The holes were covered again, this time with patches of thin wood planking, screwed into place.

By the late afternoon of 29 September, the plane was again airborne and heading down the St Lawrence. As night was soon upon them, and a small settlement came in view just ahead on the northern shore, the men decided to land, stay overnight, and continue on early the following morning. The spot they had chosen, they learned on arrival, was the site of a small pulp and paper mill at the mouth of the Jacques Cartier river. They were

warmly welcomed by the management and invited to spend the night.

Again Captain Janney contacted Ottawa, explaining their difficulties and their present location. He was then instructed to omit the stop at Valcartier, to fly direct to Quebec City, and to have the aeroplane put aboard the *Athenia*, then in dock and taking on men and equipment for overseas. Her sailing date was 2 October.

Early on 1 October, Webster and Janney left their hosts at the Jacques Cartier mill and taxied out on to the St Lawrence for what they hoped would be the final lap of their journey. To their utter chagrin they discovered that the pontoon was too waterlogged to make a take-off. By this time, the current had swept them well down stream and out of sight of the mill.

They drifted for a considerable distance, scanning the banks on both sides of the wide river for further settlements. Finally several shacks and a small dock came into sight on the north side and without further delay, Webster gunned the engine and they floundered over the water to the dock.

Here they borrowed a hand-operated bilge pump from the fisherman who greeted them and after considerable effort the pontoon was cleared. They set off again to cover the few remaining miles which separated them from the *Athenia*.

Earlier in September, Colonel Hughes had increased the Canadian Aviation Corps by two additional men. The first, Lieutenant W.F. Sharpe, from Prescott, Ontario, had been living in Los Angeles when war was declared and had returned to Canada to join the forces. He had some flying training as a student pilot at the Curtiss Flying School at San Diego. Although he did not possess an Aero Club of America licence, he did hold a letter from Glenn Curtiss confirming his training status.

The second man was Henry Farr, English-born, and a sergeant with the Gordon Highlanders at the time of his transfer to the Air Corps. He had been a mechanic in the service of Lincoln Beachey and the Christofferson brothers, famous airmen in the pioneer years of flying in the United States.

Both Sharpe and Farr were already aboard the *Athenia*, awaiting the arrival of the Burgess-Dunne, and as the hours passed, their tension mounted. They had no knowledge of the troubles that the airmen were experiencing.

In his diary, Farr noted: 'We had almost given up hope that Janney would arrive in time, but on October 1, as we stood on deck shortly after noon, the unmistakable drone of an airplane engine came to our ears. Searching the sky westward, we spotted the craft flying in low, and it soon had landed and taxied to the side of

The Burgess-Dunne beached for repairs at Deschaillons, Quebec.

C. WEBSTER

C. WEBSTER

With pontoons awash and almost waterlogged, the aeroplane wallows back to the beach at Deschaillons.

the ship, where we had vigorously waved a couple of white tablecloths to draw the crews attention.'

Without delay the seaplane was hauled aboard. The wings were dismantled and stored below, the engine and nacelle were covered by tarpaulins and the frame was firmly tied down on deck for the Atlantic crossing. Wheel gear to convert the craft from a seaplane to a land machine had already been received on board and was stored below.

That same day, Clifford Webster left for Marblehead by train. He boarded at Quebec, dishevelled after his long and eventful flight and surprised that the authorities allowed him to ride in a public coach. He had sent a suitcase of fresh clothing ahead to Valcartier but it was never recovered. When the *Athenia* docked at Portsmouth, England on 7 October 1914, the Burgess-Dunne was put ashore and trucked to the Salisbury Plain Military Camp. Sharpe and Farr rigged it with its wheel under-gear and it seemed prepared to take to the air. However, the craft was doomed. From the moment it ended its flight on the St Lawrence beside the *Athenia* until the mysterious end of its days, it was never to fly again.

Although the Canadian government owned the plane, there was no certified pilot to fly it. Pilots of the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Air Service just looked at it, and decided that it was not 'their cup of tea'. So it sat at Salisbury, tethered out in the open through the drenching rains of two English winters.

Commander Janney tried to use his influence to have some form of action taken but without success. He even attempted to obtain financial support for the new Canadian Aviation Corps from the British government. When news of his unauthorized activities reached Ottawa, he was recalled and his voluntary resignation was accepted.

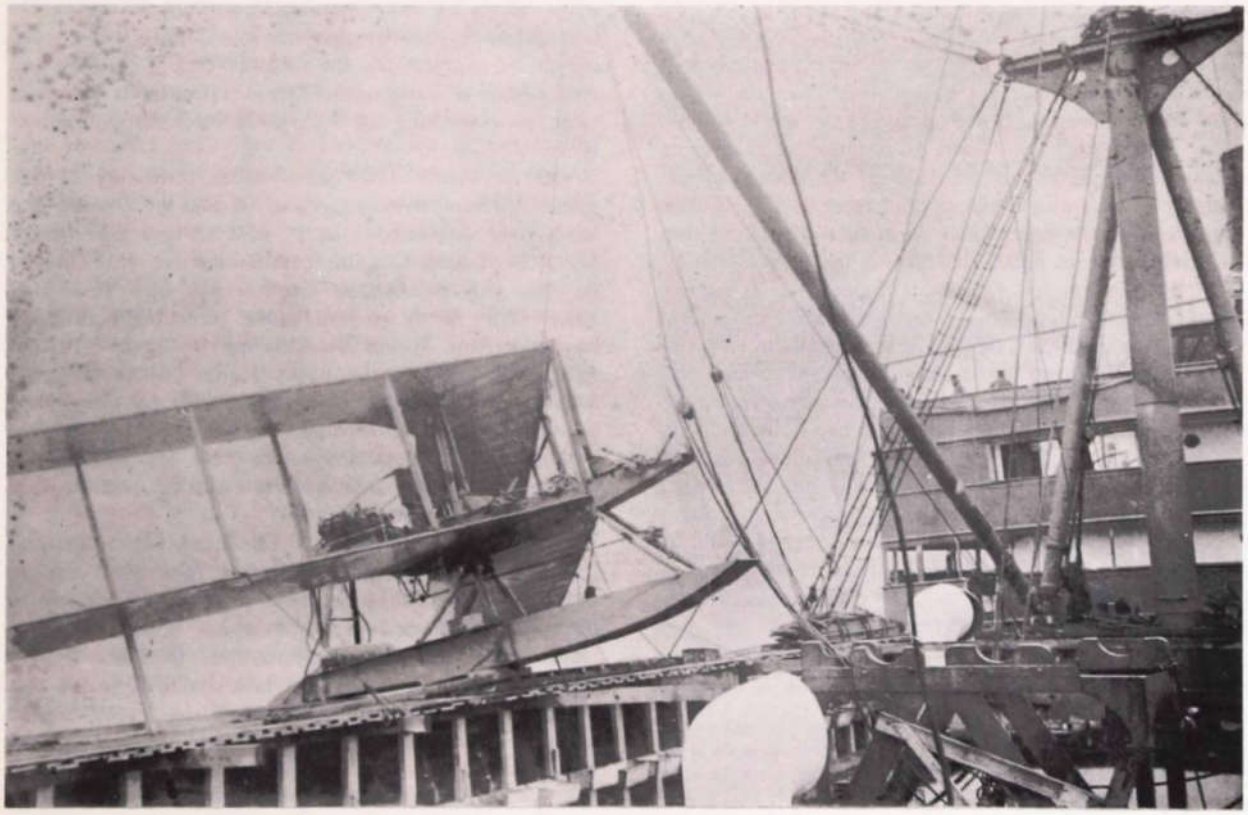
In the meantime Lieutenant Sharpe requested a transfer to the Royal Flying Corps. This was granted, and he was posted to Shoreham Aerodrome for flying training. On his first solo flight in a Maurice Farman biplane, on 4 February 1915, he crashed to his death – the first Canadian airman to lose his life during World War One. He is buried in the church cemetery at Shoreham. Henry Farr was also transferred to the Royal Flying Corps. He survived the war but is now dead.

The final demise of the Burgess-Dunne is shrouded in mystery. After two years in open weather at Shoreham, it was removed to Larkhill Military Camp, again to be staked outside. The elements would have played a part in its disintegration, and vandals, as everywhere, would have stolen most of the major parts. The final entry on the record of Canada's first military plane was that its remains were finally removed from Larkhill by a scrap dealer. ◆

Lieutenant W.F. Sharpe, the second individual to be commissioned into the Canadian Aviation Corps, at the Curtiss Flying School in San Diego.

C. KILLEEN

Canada's first military aeroplane tethered aboard the 'Athenia' at Quebec City, 2 October 1914.



C. KILLEEN

BAFFIN ISLAND

The Mysterious West Coast

BY J. DEWEY SOPER

BAFFIN ISLAND, the largest insular area in the Canadian Arctic Archipelago, was likely first sighted by the Vikings, but Sir Martin Frobisher received credit for its discovery in 1576. During several centuries following this event the south, east, and north coasts of the island became reasonably well known, but such was not the case for the west coast south of about latitude 70° N. In fact, most of its position and character remained a riddle into the early part of the present century. Through all the passing decades a provisional dotted line had to suffice on maps from the northern fringe of Foxe Peninsula to about Murray Maxwell Bay. This was the situation for most of that seaboard until 1929.

Together with the seaboard north of Bowman Bay the interior remained virtually *terra incognita*. A notable exception was the exploration of Bernhard Hantzsch. In the summer and autumn of 1910 he and his Eskimo guides reached the west coast from Cumberland Sound via Nettilling Lake and Koukdjuak River; thence they went along the coast to points beyond the river that later was named in his honour.

The long neglect of this coast was owing to its relative inaccessibility from the east; the total lack of resident native inhabitants; and the heavy, ice-glutted, hazardous state of Foxe Basin through which ships could usually make no headway whatever. It is reported that some seasons Foxe Basin fails to disgorge its thick, old ice, while in an exceptional year it discharges huge quantities through Foxe Channel. Later on in such a season a ship can navigate as far north, at least, as the Spicer Islands.

In 1925 while quartered at Pangnirtung I became increasingly intrigued as to the genuine position and nature of at least some of that western seaboard. Finally with three Eskimos, three sledges, and 42 dogs I left Pangnirtung on 9 January. Crossing the island via Nettilling Fiord and Lake we reached the Foxe Basin coast on 2 February about six miles north of Koukdjuak River. A day of coastal explorations followed. Then we turned back for home (surveying via the northwest and north shores of Nettilling Lake) which we reached without event on 15 February after an absence of 37 days; the distance travelled was approximately 650 miles, including sealing operations in Nettilling Fiord.

As a result of this reconnaissance it became clear that the Foxe Basin coast in about latitude 67° is situated close to 72° 50'W longitude instead of well beyond 74° W as earlier surmised. As a consequence, about 2,000 theoretical square miles were lopped off the western tundra. On the whole, Hantzsch's latitudes were near the mark, but his longitudes were wildly inaccurate. His map as well showed Cape Dorchester nearly as far north as the mouth of Koukdjuak River; it is obvious, however, that he copied this flagrant error from an earlier map.

In the summer of 1928 I found myself set for a year's work out of Dorset where I was comfortably quartered with two Hudson's Bay Company men, David Wark and Henry Voisey. Again thoughts were entering my mind about the largely mysterious coast north of Bowman Bay. Why not now run a reliable exploratory survey to finally terminate the prevailing vagueness? So I planned a trip by dog-team from Dorset to Bowman Bay and northward to, at least, Hantzsch River.

Careful preparations were made as to outfit, provisions, and dog feed since that territory is practically gameless throughout the winter, a serious confrontment for a calculated return journey of perhaps 900 miles. On the outbound trip the plan was to establish well spaced depots of supplies for the future. From them men and dog-teams, in succession, would retreat for home at given times picking up their share of depot supplies en route.

On 11 March 1929 our outfit, consisting of five Eskimo drivers, five sledges and 56 dogs left Dorset. The loads were unavoidably heavy with an aggregate weight of 4,158 pounds. Our immediate objective was Bowman Bay by way of Andrew Gordon Bay and Tessikjuak Lake. With firmly packed snow, travelling conditions were excellent. It was relatively easy to cover 20 to 30 miles daily despite the heavy loads. Collectively, the latter were becoming lighter every day by about 165 pounds of expended man and dog food plus the supplies with which the depots were stocked. The single daily meal ration for the dogs was around three pounds each of either seal or walrus meat.

The entire territory from Tessikjuak Lake northeast to Bowman Bay consists of low, glaciated granitic uplands composed of nearly flat or somewhat rolling terrain. Interspersed throughout are minor hills and ridges of Precambrian crystallines. Occasionally, in between, are extensive grassy flats, strikingly prairie-like in appearance with abundant dwarf herbage. Sometime in the past these and similar areas farther west supported fine bands of caribou that were readily accessible to Eskimo hunters from Hudson Strait or Foxe Channel.

Dr Soper, explorer and senior authority on the mammals and birds of the Eastern Arctic and Alberta, is author of 'The Mammals of Alberta' and many other popular and scientific works.

Dewey Soper at Cape Dorset upon his return, April 1929, from a 819-mile survey trip to Foxe Basin and the Hantzsch River.

The mean elevation of this land is between 100 and 200 feet above sea level. A few widely scattered conspicuous hills are notably higher with crests up to at least 350 feet. About 14 miles southwest of Bowman Bay, a 250-foot northwesterly-trending scarp ends abruptly. The land then slopes down to the flat plain lying between the sea coast and Putnam Highland. This lowland, in part, is only a few feet above high tide level. The western part of the Putnam Highland escarpment rises to a height of 450 feet and then, apparently, at about the same height angles away eastward for about 45 miles to terminate as a 70-foot cliff along the northwestern shore of Amadjuak Lake. The altitude of this fine body of water is about 370 feet; it has a strong outflow via Amadjuak River to Nettilling Lake.

On March 17 we reached Bowman Bay. The supply depots for the return trip were established en route at Tessikjuak Lake and the south end of Bowman Bay. On the morning of the 18th, Kavavow and his dog-team were released for the return home. Now the party struck off northward along the coast of the Great Plain of the Koukdjuak. This vast flat tundra via the coast stretches to the north unbroken for 150 miles – well beyond Koukdjuak River to latitude 67° 07'N. It appears to be underlain throughout by sedimentary bedrock.

The related Putnam Highland is composed of Silurian and Ordivician limestone and shale rich in fossils. Fossiliferous rock is also present along the northwest shore of Nettilling Lake and at Blue Goose and Koukdjuak Rivers. This far-flung grass tundra is calculated to have an area of 8,000 square miles. Rising out of it, 12 to 15 miles southwest of Nettilling Lake, are the conspicuous 400-foot Pingua Hills believed to be sedimentary. So little elevated is much of the land along Foxe Basin that it is flooded to a greater or lesser extent during spring tides. At such times chunks of sea ice are propelled well up on the land.

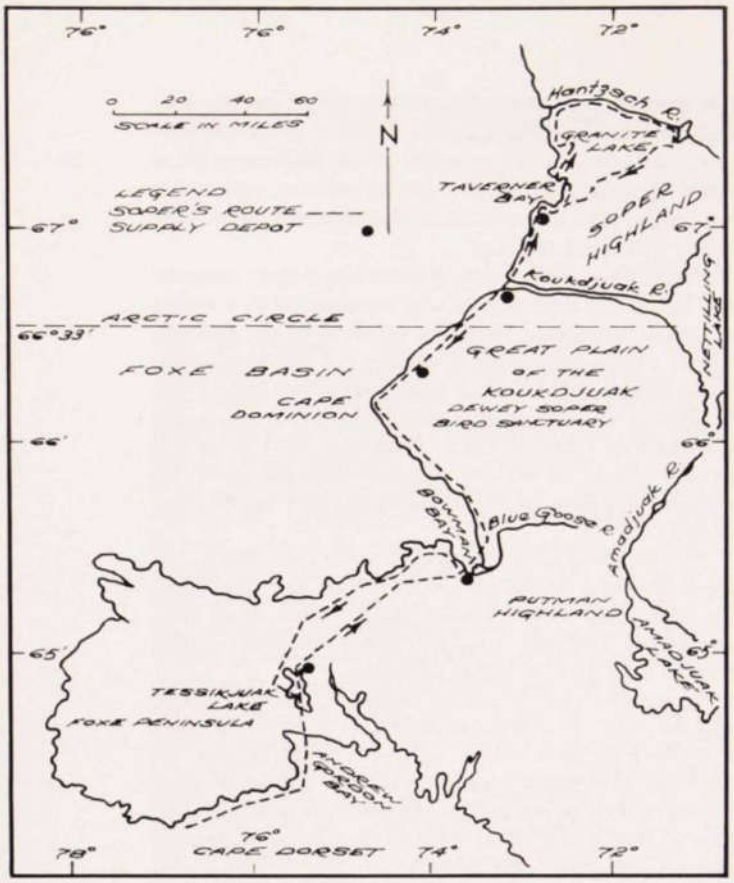
Along lower Blue Goose River a few granite outcrops and low ridges protrude, locally surmounted by a welter of glacial boulders. The chief of these is the Eswituk Ridge which, dwindling gradually to the northwest, finally disappears below the grasslands in latitude 65° 46' N. It was in this locality during the next spring and summer that I set up Camp Kungovik (65° 35'N) and there at long last on the swampy lowlands made the exciting discovery of the breeding grounds of the Blue Goose.

For the next three days we travelled parallel to the massive coastal ice, to 18 miles beyond Cape Dominion. There we built Depot 3 on 19 March. The next morning the second driver of the support party, Powlusee, headed back to Dorset, now distant 210 miles.

In summer the grass-moss tundra of this area is soft and swampy. It holds multitudes of ponds and pools that are normally shallow and muddy. Many streams intersect this rather dismal land that furnishes some variety. South of the Koukdjuak the chief of these is the Blue Goose River. Several small streams from Putnam Highland flow into the latter stream and farther north, minor ones also end up in Bowman Bay. Others coming in from the direction of Nettilling Lake enter Foxe Basin above and below the Arctic Circle. Some of these are likely impermanent, carrying only spring freshet snowmelt, or the run-off of summer rains.

From the south end of Bowman Bay the somewhat irregular coastline trends in a northwesterly direction for

The first depot of supplies at Tessikjuak Lake, marked by a flag to aid visibility in storms. Here the guides ice sledge runners for another day of travel.



67 miles to approximate latitude of 66° 10'N and about longitude 74° 35'W. Here the notable deflection of the coast forms a flat, wide headland that I named Cape Dominion. The true nature of this feature was previously unknown. From the cape the coast now swings sharply to the northeast. The trend is almost in a straight line for 85 miles to the south shore of Taverner Bay. No boulder erratics were seen in this section north of about 65° 45'N. As a rule the snow cover was of only moderate depth and packed hard by frequent winds. Conditions were better than expected. A distinct boon on this occasion were the long hours of daylight for travel, igloo-building, and investigations.

On 20 March we covered about 27 miles and camped at the Arctic Circle. Everywhere the lowlands presented a depressed and featureless aspect. At times silvery, shimmering mirages altered the landscape with weird, shifting distortions. The miles could scarcely have been more monotonous; this monotony linked with the silence and solitude was singularly impressive. All of the tundra to a few miles north of the Koukdjuak rose imperceptibly to the east on a gentle gradient of about two feet per mile to Nettilling Lake.

Late on the afternoon of 21 March we reached Koukdjuak River in fine style and set up camp. By sledge odometer the river proved to be 2.1 miles wide – truly a remarkable width for a stream only 52 miles long. All along the coast heavy, old, scabrous ice, often 10 to 15 feet high loomed up in Foxe Basin as far as eye could see. There was no sign of open water anywhere.

On the 22nd we came to the point on the coast, about six miles north of Koukdjuak River, that I had reached with a route survey from Pangnirtung in early February 1925. After plotting the current I realized with satisfaction that the two independent surveys showed a difference in longitude of only two statute miles. This gratifying result was surprising in view of the fact that the two route surveys of approximations, originated at points about 360 miles apart.

Near Taverner Bay the great western plain comes to an end in an apex formed by the sea on the one hand and a low limestone scarp on the other; the latter is the western extremity of the Soper Highland. There it closely approaches the coast with a height of only 10 to 15 feet. To the south it angles southeast to within a few miles of Koukdjuak River, then runs east to Nettilling Lake. The surface of this upland is generally mantled with angular rubble eroded from the flat-lying sedimentary stratum below. Associated with this are numerous drift boulders derived from glaciated granite areas to the north.

It was now 24 March and on that morning the last of the support party, Putagook and Nunasweeto, left Taverner Bay on the return trek to Cape Dorset. As the distance home was considerable (about 300 miles) arrangements were made for them to travel together instead of leaving singly from separate depots as was done farther south. In case of accident on a long journey it was risky to travel alone. The men were clearly pleased with this development. Together they could pick up their share of groceries and dog feed at the successive depots en route.

My permanent assistant, Shappa, and I were now alone. Our immediate job was to press on northward for the exploration of Hantzsch River and adjacent territory. I also wanted to delimit the northern margin of Soper Highland, the southern part of which I had discovered in 1925. Many new features awaited; the prospect was stimulating. The river and surroundings had never been explored and I had a good assistant for the undertaking.

A highly efficient traveller and hunter, Shappa was cheerful, loyal, and reliable beyond qualification. The more I travelled in the Arctic the more my admiration grew for the sterling qualities of the best Eskimo men on the trail. Moreover, one could never forget the astonishing stamina and grit of the sledge dogs under the most difficult conditions.

From Taverner Bay the northern front of the limestone escarpment winds away to the northeast for about 45 miles to upper Hantzsch River and Granite Lake. At the coast the old base complex rocks make their appearance again in low, rounded hills up to 25 feet in height. In between these hills and ridges and the limestone scarp to the eastward lie flat grassy areas of varying extent.

During the summer and early fall, these are inhabited by caribou as are the local grasslands about and well west of Nettilling Lake. A one-time favourite calving tract was the tundra around southern Nettilling Lake and the Pingua Hills. With the coming of winter, in the latter part of September, virtually all caribou retreated from the western plain to forage in hills and mountains to the east.

From Taverner Bay north the country undergoes a distinct transformation. Although the bare, rounded bedrock of the district seldom exceeds an elevation of 15 to 20 feet the land appears excessively rugged to the traveller after a week of marching on the featureless plains to the south. The coastline now veers more to the north. It becomes more sinuous and precipitous. The prevailing rock in these latitudes is a granite gneiss with some showing of a quartz diorite gneiss.

In about latitude 67° and for many miles to the north the Soper Highland describes an undulating profile along the distant horizon to heights of 150, 200, or possibly 300 feet. The contours, of course, are much smoother than in the hard-rock areas. On its western edge, near the coast and inland, are many sheer scarps and bluffs together with shadowed, stream-gouged and sharply inclined ravines that add interesting character to the landscape. In some niches deep snowbanks prevailed, but the uplands were swept nearly bare by the high winds.

We now plodded on beyond Taverner Bay. Such grassy terrain as remained north to Hantzsch River was interrupted more and more by the granitic ridges with heights of 40 to 60 feet. Here we became involved in such intricate and rough topography that much time was lost in finding a way through. Also, we endured repeated frustration from violent storms and blinding ground drift that made travel impossible. Long hours, or days, holed up in a snow-house when much work remained to be done were tedious.

Almost immediately north of the river the rocks rise to heights of 200 to 300 feet. Inland the rough terrain gradually rises eastwardly to meet the lofty mountains around the Penny Ice-cap and highlands bordering Davis Strait. At that time vast reaches of interior Baffin Island north of Nettilling Lake had never been explored.

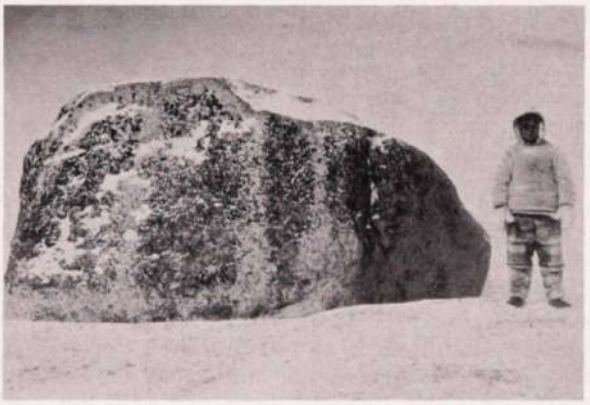
For many years I had looked forward to visiting Hantzsch (Koukdjitariak) River. The stream far inland, as yet, was unknown and unsurveyed and I had hoped to explore it. I also thought it possible to find some kind of interesting document in a conspicuous cairn left by Hantzsch at the mouth of the river where he lived for much of the winter of 1910-11. However, nothing was found. The region was singularly attractive; as Hantzsch was the first and only white man to precede me to this desolate and lonely land, much remained to be discovered.

Hantzsch went farther up the coast in the early spring of 1911; unfortunately, on the return south to the winter camp he died of fever and starvation a few miles north of Hantzsch Bay. There his Eskimo companions buried him under a pile of rocks, safe from wolves and foxes. Under harrowing circumstances the guides finally reached Cumberland Sound and safety. With them they carried all of the explorer's records which eventually reached his home in Germany intact. In due course his material was published and later translated into English by Mrs Rudolph Anderson of Ottawa.

The west coast country of Baffin was a dangerous one in winter for a prolonged expedition, because of the inherent scarcity of terrestrial game. Seals were also difficult to secure in Foxe Basin because of great expanses of thick, broken pressure-ice and the near absence of open water. These conditions were fatal with respect to Hantzsch. Notable poverty of wildlife was likewise my experience in that region during early February 1925 and again on the present expedition.

As to the latter, no sight nor sign was observed anywhere of polar bear, wolf, or caribou. One weasel trail was noted in late March at Hantzsch River. During

Shappa beside a huge glacial boulder near Taverner Bay.



Caribou in the Amadjuak River, August 1973.

DAVID BUETOW

the total journey from Dorset to the latter stream and back, only six Arctic fox spoors were detected. For a distance of about 60 miles on either side of the Arctic Circle not a single trail of anything was seen. The Arctic hare was apparently lacking on the grass tundra, but a few inhabited the granites at Bowman Bay and Hantzsch River. The same was true of rock ptarmigan. A few lemming signs were observed northward of Taverner Bay, but not elsewhere. From this it may be realized how nearly lifeless was this western land in winter. Yet in summer it teems with amazing multitudes of waterfowl and other wildlife. In a lifetime of faunal investigations I have never seen its equal in the North.

North of latitude 67° the weather turned villainous and finally developed into periods of vicious blizzards, or cold winds and baffling ground drift that reduced visibility to a few yards or feet. The enforced halts, however, provided well deserved leisure for the dogs that had struggled for several hundred miles without a break. Actually, the rests were good for us too; this was especially true for me as I had sprained an ankle in the treacherous coastal ice while taking photographs. At last after various toilsome and vexatious experiences involving repeated delays, short runs, and frostbite we reached Hantzsch Bay (lat. 67° 34' N) on 28 March.

At one time, owing to the stormy weather and consequent slow progress, we became seriously concerned about the remaining supply of dog feed. With further delays I began to fear that it might become necessary to cancel the side trip into the Hantzsch River interior – but happily such a situation did not develop. After taking readings for latitude and magnetic declination, we were ready to ascend the unknown river.

A start was made on 29 March. The mouth of the stream is about 150 yards wide. For a mile above, it varies in width from 50 to 100 yards. At 1.1 miles from the mouth a short gorge occurs with rapids and cascades confined between granite walls about 50 feet high and 40 yards apart. For five miles it winds from a northeast direction and then from the east for about six miles. After this it maintains a course from the southeast.

An ancient inukshuk near Granite Lake.

At its northern most point, the stream lies in latitude 67° 36'. Up to 11 miles from the sea it descends about 65 feet in a wild series of low falls and rapids interrupted by a chain of three small lake-like expansions. The average width of the river, proper, is around 50 to 60 yards.

In the lower reaches the river is hemmed in by granite hills from 40 to 80 feet in height. To the northward the bleak ranges rise to several hundred feet. Turbulence of the river occurs chiefly in the lower few miles from the sea. At about 12 miles inland there is a marked change in the topography to wide flats along the stream where sledging is much easier. In these flatter surroundings camp was made at the river on the evening of 29 March about 25 miles from Foxe Basin. The ascent was continued on the 30th. The next day a noon latitude of 67° 32' N was secured on the river about 30 airline miles from the sea. A few hours later we reached a picturesque small body of water that I named Granite Lake. The altitude here is about 80 feet.

At a total distance of approximately 45 miles by river from the sea, we made camp at the base of the Soper Highland which here has its northern termination near the south end of the lake. The slope rises steeply from the flats below to a height of about 140 feet, or approximately 220 feet above sea level. Here and there are signs of terraces that have been heavily eroded or almost completely worn away. It is at the zone of contact between sedimentaries and granite that the river winds its way.

The eastern limits of the highland form an irregular line on a general bearing of south-southeast to the northern extremity of Nettilling Lake at Karmang. Before leaving here we built a conspicuous rock monument on the high rim of the escarpment in which I deposited a dated geographical and party record. So far as I know no explorer has been there since I left.

While examining the top of the highlands I was surprised to come upon a typical stone *inukshuk*. The nearest native habitations to the east, south, or north were great distances away.

It is a fact, however, that old-time Eskimos wandered widely afoot in the interior during summer in search of caribou – much farther than one would imagine. The flesh sustained them for weeks on the hunt (together with ptarmigan, waterfowl, and eggs) while the skins were cleaned and dried in the wind and sun. These skins were then tied up in bundles and, finally, in late summer, carried to sea-coast homes to be made into clothing for all members of the family. Inukshuit occur widely in southern Baffin Island south to Hudson Strait and west to Foxe Channel.

Here near Granite Lake our dog feed was running low. We had hoped to secure caribou in the locality making it possible to explore farther up the river, but diligent hunting failed to reveal any sign of animals. Years before I had heard from the Cumberland Eskimos that a large

Dr Soper at latitude 67 25' N along the Foxe Basin coast, 25 March 1929.

lake called Tesseokjuak that no white man had ever seen, lay some distance north of Nettilling Lake. If this were true I assumed that it was drained by Hantzsch River. Naturally, I had hoped to discover and map it. Under the circumstances this was now impossible. Without additional dog feed it would have been folly to go on.

Thus it became important to set out immediately for Hudson Strait. By dogged perseverance through a moderate blizzard along the northern foot of the limestone highland we reached a point a few miles from Taverner Bay where we halted for the night. The weather was far from pleasant the next morning but we could ill afford to stay over. On the morning of 2 April we left Taverner Bay, on the long trail back to Cape Dorset.

The return journey unfolded methodically and without serious trouble. The only marked handicaps were the almost daily gales from the southwest in the upper latitudes. Exposure on daily instrument work was the most trying. I wore thick, double caribou mitts to keep my hands warm for such work, and to combat frostbite on my face.

While re-crossing Koukdjuak River and exploring a short distance upstream the disposition of some stones suggested that Eskimos had reached this point in the past. Doubtless they had, for in summer caribou wandered all over the grass tundra and evidently lesser snow geese were numerous; there would have been no shortage of food.

These stones reminded me of my party's observations along the upper Koukdjuak in early September 1925. Near the exit of the river from Nettilling Lake and for several miles down stream, we saw clear evidence that Eskimos sometimes hunted here in the past. Tupik or tent rings of small boulders were seen occasionally, together with rock corrals for geese. These were circular in shape, a few yards in diameter, the walls being about 24 to 30 inches in height. On one side a relatively narrow opening was provided. When the adult geese were moulting and flightless the natives rounded up flocks of them on foot, drove the helpless birds to and into the corral where they were slaughtered at leisure.

The enclosures we saw appeared to be quite old. The rocks were dark with lichens and appeared to have been in place for a long time. The floors were partially covered with barely discernable mouldering feathers and bones mixed with current growth of moss and grass. The Eskimos with me believed that the natives who built the corrals were from Cumberland Sound; that many went west into the interior for the summer during whaling days of the past century; and that the main purpose was to secure caribou skins for winter clothing.

On the evening of 7 April, we reached our depot on southwestern Bowman Bay. The next day with enough supplies to spare we made a 30-mile return trip to Putnam Highland which can be seen for a long distance. At a distance of 14.5 miles from southwestern Bowman Bay a deep, conspicuous canyon lay where we gathered a good collection of fossils, most of which were in an excellent state of preservation. Among these were corals, bryozoa, and numerous gastropoda and cephalopoda.

Having disposed of this undertaking we left Bowman Bay on 9 April and that night camped near Cape Alberta. The following day we got to Cory Bay. A southwest course from there brought us to Tessikjuak Lake again where the survey was tied in with earlier data. The 70 intervening miles to Cape Dorset were covered by the afternoon of 15 April after an absence of 35 days; total length of the journey was 819 miles.

For the most part sledging conditions had been excellent with relatively little new snow. The only notably foul weather was encountered north of Taverner Bay in late March. For the most part the degree of cold could be called moderate in relation to time and place. At 8.00 a.m. during the last 21 days of March mean temperatures were -16°F, while the minimum was around -28° to -30°F. During the first 15 days of April at 8.00 a.m. the average was -8°F and the lowest -22°F. This was fairly lenient as compared with -60°F or lower that can visit this region in January. Temperatures along coasts with open water nearby are less severe than farther back in the interior.

In addition to acquiring knowledge of the west coast a challenge persisted with respect to the almost unknown interior of 'Foxe Land'. At various times during 1928-29 every effort was made to overcome this deficiency. Thus, using a freighter canoe in summer and dog-teams in winter I with my Eskimo guides succeeded in making six exploratory traverse surveys across Foxe Peninusla. No longer could this fascinating territory be regarded as unexplored. ◆

NORTHERN BOOKS

CANADA 1896-1921: A NATION TRANSFORMED

By Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1974. xiv, 412pp., illus. $12.50.

Reviewed by Lovell Clarke

This splendid book is undoubtedly one of the best in the very good Canadian Centenary series. The authors have been allowed considerably more pages in which to tell their story than the other authors in the series, and they have made good use of them. One is grateful for the latitude in view of the important and varied developments of the period.

The strongest impression left on this reviewer is the admirable balance which has been struck in treating the panorama of these twenty-five years. Laurier, Borden and the world of politics are there, as indeed they should be, as are also the facts and figures of economic growth and development. Canada's relations with Britain and the United States receive appropriate attention throughout. But there are in addition interesting sections on the immigrant tide during the opening years of the century, the triumph of business enterprise, the role of labour in the new society, the responses of various reform groups to the changes being wrought by urbanism and industrialism, and other material of a social and intellectual nature. There is an excellent chapter, for example, on French Canada and the new industrial order. These are some of the many aspects of the Canadian story in this volume; yet they are all gathered into a smoothly flowing narrative. The prose is very readable and gives no sign of dual authorship.

Another strong impression is the immense scholarship which informs the work. The authors have not only researched private papers in various archives, but have clearly made good use of unpublished theses, sixty-four of which are listed in the appendix, some of very recent vintage. A complete bibliography unfortunately had to be omitted for reasons of space, but some indication of the numerous sources consulted is afforded by the footnotes. The book is particularly good in dealing with western Canada, French Canada, and the Borden era, all areas in which Professors Brown and Cook have special expertise and familiarity. It is weakest in dealing with the Maritimes. Historians of that region have not yet carried their investigations into the twentieth century to any great extent and consequently there are few specialized studies upon which Professors Brown and Cook could draw.

The format continues the handsome quality of the series, of which the publishers may justly be proud. There are very few errors by either the authors or the printers. The most noticeable slip is the reference to 'Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee celebrations' of 1897 (p. 32), whereas the occasion was of course her Diamond Jubilee. The first page mentions the election of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1896, whereas he was plain Wilfrid Laurier then. Later (p. 7) it is implied that he was elected in the autumn of 1896, when in fact the general elections were held on June 23, with Laurier becoming prime minister on July 11. Mowat was premier of Ontario for slightly less than twenty-four years, not twenty-five (p. 9); Geoffrion's initials should be C.A. (p. 10); the first Colonial Conference was 1887, not 1897 as implied on p.27; Premier Parent's initials should be S.N. (p.194); and other minor mistakes or misprints occur on pages 34, 64, 86. The photographs are good, including the one of a group of smiling immigrants of 1911 which adorns the cover of the book.

The book carries the reader through the confident boom years at the beginning of the century, through the sobering agony of the war, and into the post-war period when farmer and worker discontents were only the more obvious signs of an unsettled situation. Western settlement and urban and industrial growth, to mention no other developments, had transformed the nation during the quarter century, making it much more complex. The war had accelerated the transformation, while at the same time intensifying the regional, class, and ethnic divisions of Canadian society. Those divisions had the potential to make the country nearly ungovernable. A chapter entitled 'O Brave New World' sets forth the high hopes of the reform groups which had emerged by the end of the war, and whose heady optimism was so ironically at variance with the realities of the situation confronting the country.

The authors write with sympathy and understanding of the events of these twenty-five years, which were frequently controversial and nearly always momentous. Yet they remain dispassionate and impartial, refraining from all judgments and leaving the reader to form his own in the light of their objective account. If they have any thesis or theme, it is simply that industrialism and western settlement had so transformed the nation that by the close of the period a new era was upon it, symbolized by the advent of new people on the political scene – Mackenzie King, Meighen, Crerar, Woodsworth and Agnes MacPhail. In Quebec the broadly Canadian nationalism of Henri Bourassa was giving place to the Quebec-centred nationalism of Abbé Lionel Groulx, and this was another token of the coming of a new age. Professors Brown and Cook conclude most appropriately with quotations from Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Robert Borden who have so dominated the age that has passed, and to which the authors have done such justice as to merit the admiration of scholars and a wide readership among all people.

Professor of History at University of Manitoba, Dr Clarke's special interest is the history of Post-Confederation Canada.

TUNDRA

By Farley Mowat, McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto, 1973. 415pp., illus. $12.50.

Reviewed by J.P. Johnson Jr

Tundra deals with the European penetration of the gigantic arctic land mass stretching north from timber line and occupying the top of the continent west of Hudson Bay. This vast expanse of frozen wastes posed almost as great a challenge to the passage of European man as did the polar seas, or the ice-clogged channels between the arctic islands.

These sentences from the foreword of the third book in Farley Mowat's trilogy *The Top of the World* provide the background for

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The INDEX to Outfit 304, Summer 1973 to Spring 1974 is available from *The Beaver*, Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, Canada R3C 2R1. Price: $1.00

selections from the journals and writings of explorers and travellers who journeyed into the barren grounds of Keewatin, to the Arctic coast and even to the western islands of the Arctic Archipelago between the mid-eighteenth century and the 1920s.

I discovered, when I first opened the book, that the title is misleading, because part of the collection is associated as much with forested parts of the North as with the treeless areas beyond. However, that is a minor point compared to the opportunity to participate in Samuel Hearne's classic journey into the unknown down the Coppermine, or to compare the efficiency of Alexander Mackenzie and George Back as river travellers who filled in large blank areas of the maps of their times, or to wonder at the inept confidence and horror associated with Franklin's attempts at mainland exploration, and to follow in more modern times the remarkable Stefansson as he crossed the sea ice from island to island in the Far North. But these are familiar names to most who know something about successes and tragedies of arctic history, and there is more to this book than reports by the more famous explorers.

There are unforgettable, brief and poignant excerpts from Edgar Christian's diary as starvation became a fact. And even more disturbing is the sense of timelessness of mankind in Mallet's tale about the members of a barren-grounds Eskimo band wasting with hunger. These emphasize Mowat's wish not to make this collection simply a history of exploration. Together with the earlier accounts, they are 'the varied tale of how many individual men grappled with and came to terms with the great polar adversary. It brings the quality of these men into sharp focus so that we recognize them as superb animals, imbued with that innate strength derived from struggles with physical adversity, to which we are ascending over all other forms of life.' He goes on to express his 'distaste for the modern mechanical hero', and here the accounts of Russell, who went north to hunt musk-oxen, of James Tyrrell who accompanied his brother Joseph by canoe into the middle of Keewatin to map its geology, and the reports of the Royal North West Mounted Police Patrol to Coppermine and Bathurst Inlet, 1916-18, show us men who were modern in their thinking and representative of the outside world, and the ways in which they reacted to a frontier that has disappeared in the last two decades.

Farley Mowat has put each piece in perspective by writing an introduction for it, and he has modernized some spelling, phraseology, and punctuation to make the older, more difficult accounts easier to read. He has also condensed or eliminated passages or introduced a 'brief binding paragraph to maintain the narrative flow'. These are unobtrusive and will increase the pleasure of reading for most. Only a purist could object and such should be reading the original accounts. The maps and the photographs are a real asset to the reader and well presented. Although not as massive a book as the others in the trilogy, it is well designed and has an attractive jacket.

For those who do not have ready access to early northern literature and who are interested in how this vast part of the continent became known, how the early explorers and occupants saw it, and what kind of people they were – or for those who wish to measure themselves against these men – much will be found of value and wonder in this book. Those who are followers of Farley Mowat will appreciate him more for what he has done for them. Those who have a philosophy about the North which is different from his, should not let this deter them. Each account can stand on its own, and has its own meaning for these times.

Dr Johnson is Professor of Geography, Carleton University, Ottawa.

THE NONSUCH

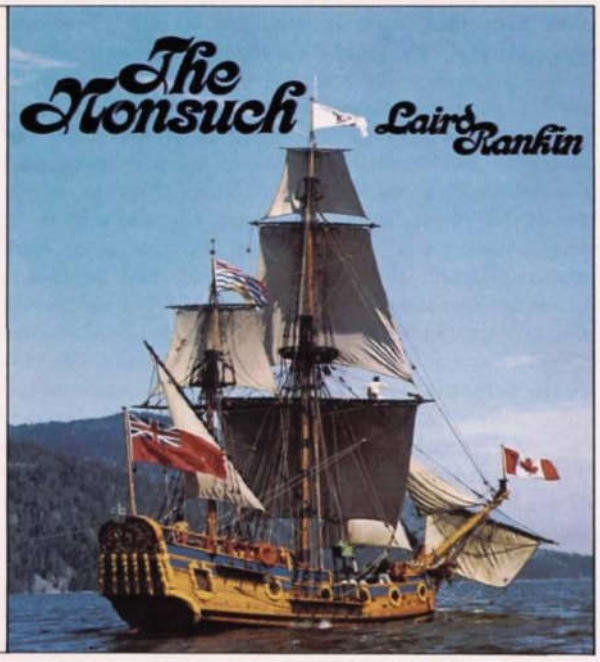
In June 1668 the small ketch *Nonsuch* sailed from England for Hudson Bay to chart an access to the rich fur country of the 'Bay of the North'. As a result of her successful voyage the Hudson's Bay Company was established on 2nd May 1670. In March 1970, another *Nonsuch* crossed the Atlantic – lashed to the deck of the S.S. *Bristol City*, en route to a permanent berth in Winnipeg.

The exploits of this replica of the first *Nonsuch*, built in honour of the Company's 300th anniversary, make an exciting, often humorous narrative. The story is told by Laird Rankin who was closely involved with the ship in North America.

The book, published by Clarke, Irwin, Toronto, 1974, has 132 pages, is lavishly illustrated with photographs and contains several handsome drawings by the ship's captain, Adrian Small.

PRICE: $8.50

Available from: THE BEAVER
Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, Canada R3C 2R1



The Doctor Rode Side Saddle; The Story of Dr Elizabeth Matheson

The following is part of Chapter 23 from the story of Dr Elizabeth Matheson. The book, to be published this autumn by McClelland and Stewart Ltd, was written by her daughter, Ruth Matheson Buck of Regina.

Elizabeth Scott Matheson at 17, four years before she entered Women's Medical College, Queen's University, in 1887.

THE RESERVE on which the Mission was located had been surveyed in 1878, and named for Chief Sekaskooch, who had signed the Treaty at Fort Pitt in 1876. During the disturbed weeks of 1885 that preceded and followed the massacre at Frog Lake, he had kept his band withdrawn in the northern bush. When the Alberta Field Force reached Fort Pitt, and was moving on to Frenchman's Butte and its encounter with Big Bear's warriors, two of Major Steele's scouts came upon the encampment of Sekaskooch's band. The old Chief was sitting in the doorway of his tent, smoking his pipe, when they shot him; and they shot his eldest son as he was driving the horses in from their pasture to the camp.

The younger son was scarcely out of boyhood, but he went then, with others of the band, to join Big Bear, though it was only for the retreat to Loon Lake, and surrender. Still, he had been a rebel, and was thus denied the right ever to become Chief himself, however highly the others of the band might regard him. He was one of those who joined the Anglican Church after John Matheson came to the Mission and when he took a Christian name in baptism, he added the distinctive surname that he regarded his by right, becoming Robert Chief.

His wife was a grand-daughter of Big Bear; one of her sisters, the wife of Ka-nē-pa-tā-tāo, chief dancer of that fiercely resistant band of Plains Cree; and another, the youngest, married to Andrew Sinclair, who had been one of the boys who had come of his own accord to stay at the Mission school in that winter of 1892. All three were proud and passionate women.

After the celebrations of Christmas and New Year's Day 1906, in which the Indians joined as they had since the days of the fur traders, the three men and their families left the Reserve to trap in the northern bush.

Early one Sunday morning, not two weeks later, Andrew came to the Mission to report that they had brought back with them from their hunting camp, the bodies of two of Robert Chief's children; and Elizabeth, upon questioning him, was reasonably certain that diphtheria had been the cause of their deaths.

She went with her husband to the one-roomed house, three miles from the Mission. As they approached they could hear the wailing of the women; and found the house filled with men, women, and children. John Matheson's coming was accepted, since they had sent for him, and Robert Chief came forward with Andrew and Ka-nē-pa-tā-tāo to speak to him; but Elizabeth knew at once that her presence as doctor was resented by their wives as an intrusion upon their grief. They opposed her with unyielding silence.

The bodies of the two children lay in a corner of the room. She had to insist upon examining them; and it was only with her husband's patient co-operation that she was able to draw from some of those present in the room a reluctant description of the onset and course of the fatal illness. It was definitely diphtheria.

Late in the afternoon, when the funeral at the church was over, she came back to the house, and again John Grace was with her to help if possible. Her questions fell into the same resisting silence; the children were snatched from her, or hid of their own accord; she could not examine them, and to give any anti-toxin was out of the question.

Once more she had to retreat before hostile resistance, but she had gained one point. They would have to accept quarantine, though they could choose the place. They chose a house where there had been no death, and

one that was farther than Robert Chief's from this persistent white woman. It was Ka-nē-pa-tā-tāo's, a full six miles from the Mission. Elizabeth and John Grace [Matheson] accompanied the three families there, made certain of their needs, and notified the Agent, that he might send rations for nineteen men, women and children. The other mourners were permitted to disperse to their homes.

In spite of the resistance she had encountered, Elizabeth's anxiety drew her every day to the house, but without effect. One Friday, she noticed that Andrew Sinclair's little girl was not well, and she asked to examine her. The mother turned upon her then in open fury, crying out in Cree 'It is only out of a black heart that you come to torture us in our grief." Elizabeth's patience snapped. In angry Cree, she stormed at them all 'I will not come back again unless you send for me' and left the house.

All that night, and all the next day, snow fell. And it was bitterly cold. It would have been difficult to drive those miles of unbroken trail in any case, but it was still anger that restrained Elizabeth, and not until Saturday night did this change to remorse.

It was too dark then to find her way. The trail was quite obscured, the mercury falling steadily. She told her driver that he must have the team and sleigh ready for her at the first light, and she waited anxiously for the night to pass. In the morning, it was forty-four degrees below zero. She recorded that reading for the meteorological department in Ottawa in the bitter, gray dawn, just before she began her drive across the Reserve.

A mile from the Mission, her driver saw another sleigh approaching. The Indian who was driving it pulled his team from the road into the deep snow to let them pass, and in the growing light she recognized Andrew. Swift anger surged again. This was how he kept quarantine. At her sudden exclamation, her driver pulled the team to a sharp halt. 'What are you doing here?' she snapped at Sinclair. His answering voice was heavy with grief, scarcely audible. 'Don't say anything now' he begged, 'Drive as fast as you can. My little girl is very sick.'

She was dying. Elizabeth administered anti-toxin, yet knew that the child could not live. She asked to examine the other children. In hushed silence, the women brought their children to her one after another for anti-toxin. One small boy struggled against his mother's restraining arms and began to cry. Robert Chief took down a brace and bit from the wall, and stepped towards him. 'Let the doctor put her medicine into you' he ordered 'or I'll bore a hole right through you with this.' The startled child looked from his uncle's grim face to the grave faces about him, and submitted to the needle without a sound.

ERRATUM

On page 7, Summer 1974, the caption 'Snow bunting' should read 'Hoary Redpoll'.

When Elizabeth returned in the afternoon, the little girl had died. The next day, she was called to another house, where a child was sick. The mother had been a mourner for Robert's children, and had been given a shawl in which one of them had been wrapped. Her own child, though inoculated, did not survive, dying two weeks later of paralysis of the heart muscles. The shawl had to be traced to a third house, and thoroughly disinfected. Three more cases of diphtheria developed, but all of these were mild.

For weeks, Elizabeth drove those miles each day, fulfilling her duty, yet alert to her responsibility for all the children at the Mission too, and these included her own nursing infant of two months. Standing by her sleigh, outside each house that she visited, she would change from her outer garments to a surgical cap and gown for the care of the sick; and in all those weeks, the temperature varied by only a few degrees from the reading that she had recorded in the first week.

Her practice was now established, and Indians came almost daily to her dispensary for treatment. Often, because of the conditions and circumstances of their lives and of the times, there could be only alleviation of their distress. For Blind Anne (blindness was common, either from cataracts that were the affliction of the aged, or from the prevalence of trachoma) the tonic that Elizabeth mixed contained some strychnine, and it was to last two weeks, as she carefully explained. It was finished in two days, and Blind Anne seemed quite unaffected by any overdose when she came back for more of the fine medicine. The second bottle contained no strychnine, however, and she asked for no more, the medicine having lost its potency for her.

Once a man called Ahkinew came to Elizabeth with a cough which she knew was tubercular. To ease it a little, she gave him a quart bottle filled with an emulsion of whisky and cod-liver oil. He was to shake it well before taking it; and she gave a vigorous demonstration. Then, watching with what tender care he received and carried the bottle, she knew that his one concern would be to allow the emulsion to settle. For once, she could let him have that happy satisfaction. When he returned to the dispensary, he used every art of Indian oratory to praise the wondrous medicine. Only let him have it in two bottles, that he might mix it with more care. It was a disillusioned old man who trudged homewards. He had found that the medicine-woman could forget all her Cree and understand not a sign, for she gave him some tea and tobacco, but no medicine at all.

The dispensary was only part of her work, the easier part. She went on house calls to attend many of her patients; and these calls took her as far as Frog Lake, or farther still to Island Lake, with its most difficult trail. She would visit several homes and be away from her own for days at a time; but members of the staff were competent, and her widowed mother came to live at the Mission to care for her younger grandchildren. ◆

The Canadiana Shop

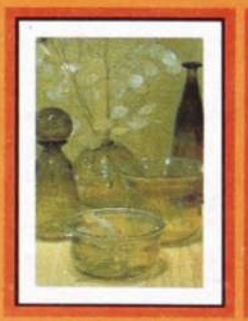
On the third floor of the beautiful new Bay store at Bloor and Yonge in Toronto, is the Canadiana Shop.

Selling traditional and contemporary works by Canadian artists, the Canadiana Shop encourages the creation of hand-made crafts. Every item is an original, nothing is mass produced. And each piece is displayed in a setting designed to enhance its qualities — from wall hangings to stone and metal sculpture.

The new Canadiana Shop at The Bay — the culmination of 304 years of merchandising — by Canadians, for Canadians.

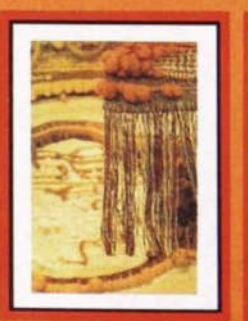
Whale bone carvings

Ontario Ceramics



Hand Blown Glass

Metal Sculpture



Wall Hangings

Wood carvings

Hudson's Bay Company